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Results of Russia-Caucasus Summit Pondered

PM1810142593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 93 p 4

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Analysis Service report under the "Week's Events" rubric: "The More Frequent the Shots, the Closer We Are to Each Other"]

[Text] In the carefree seventies there was a popular song whose refrain went roughly as follows: "Maybe the jealous Caucasus stood between us, but it is not an obstacle to us, I will come to you, if only you let me, there are no obstacles to (some kind of) love..."

In the pragmatic 1990's, these words have not lost their freshness; on the contrary, they are acquiring a new and more topical ring. Particularly for two Transcaucasian republics—Azerbaijan and Georgia. As we know, at the end of last week, at the Moscow "meeting of four"—Boris Yeltsin, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Geydar Aliyev, and Eduard Shevardnadze—Shevardnadze made a sensational statement about Georgia joining the CIS. Not long before, the treaty on joining the Commonwealth and the system of collective security was ratified by the Azerbaijani parliament.

So the two "prodigal sons" have come home, and given the fact that Armenia initially adhered to the course of an alliance with Moscow, it can be said that, apart from Chechnya, the entire Caucasus has once again found itself in Russia's sphere of influence. And, as a result of this, Russian troops are once again starting to return to their "old billets" in Georgia and Azerbaijan, but this time at their request.

Suddenly it was not the "jealous Caucasus," but the treaty on the reduction of arms in Europe, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, and not without Eduard Shevardnadze's participation, that raised an unexpected obstacle to this. Under this treaty, the USSR, and now Russia, Ukraine, and the three Transcaucasian countries, may have no more than 1,800 tanks along NATO's southern flank. In a situation where every tank is literally counted and in use, and the Russian troops have again been invited to the Transcaucasus, the framework of the treaty has become extremely narrow.

Moscow has proposed to the NATO countries that the treaty's terms be reviewed and that, by way of an exception, Russia be allowed to increase its fleet of tanks in the Caucasus. This obviously prompted protests from Turkey and the suspicion of the West. Thus, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner expressed his attitude to this problem evasively, saying that on the one hand, yes, Russia is undertaking mediatory, peacemaking endeavors in this region, but, on the other hand, it is in a way at the same time playing the role of instigator.... And his hand kind of moved to scratch his head.

It appears that permission will nevertheless be given, and most probably it will come after the event because nothing can block the path of the will of the peoples who have called upon Russia for help.

Admittedly, following the 3-4 October Moscow events, this whole subject has taken another unexpected twist, caused by the fact that the law enforcement organs in Moscow have been far more zealous in cleaning up Moscow of persons of Caucasian nationality than gunmen from the "White House," sending the former off to the locations where they are registered as residents, and it must be admitted that there have been cases where a Georgian, for example, is sent back to Sukhumi, from where all his fellow tribesmen were expelled by the Abkhazian Army not so long ago.

Admittedly, the road to the motherland is a long one for the exiles, and it remains for them to hope that the Russian troops, which will provide for their return, will appear there by the time of their arrival.

Estonia Changes Stance, Agrees to Baltic Ministers Council

WS1910125193 Tallinn BNS in English 1858 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Vilnius, Oct 18, BNS—The Estonian side changed its attitude and a decision to create the Baltic Council of Ministers was made, Lithuanian Parliament Vice Chairman Egidijus Bickauskas said on his return from a meeting of the Baltic Assembly Presidium, held in Tallinn last weekend.

At a press conference Monday [18 October], Bickauskas said the meeting's participants focused on preparations for the Baltic Assembly's session, which is scheduled for Oct. 28-31.

The parliament vice chairman said the presidium managed to eliminate a number of problems, and the Estonian side finally assented to the creation of the Baltic Council of Ministers.

Bickauskas noted that cooperation between the three Baltic states would become practicable on three levels—meetings between presidents and government leaders, the Baltic Assembly, and the Council of Ministers. However he also criticized Latvia and Estonia for doubting the expediency of regular Baltic summits. "The fact is that Latvian and Estonian presidents have different authorizations."

Coordination Council for Military Trade Unions Set Up

LD1610215893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 16 Oct 93

[Text] An international coordination council of military trade unions of the CIS states has been set up. It includes the military trade unions of Kazakhstan, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and the Ukraine. The sphere of their activity is restricted to fighting for the settlement of economic and social issues. We must stress, however, that we are speaking about trade unions of civilian workers in the Armies of some of the Commonwealth states.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Oct

LD1910113093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0613 GMT 19 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 19 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers carry today numerous articles dealing with the electoral campaign and electoral platforms of various political forces. In the opinion of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the Russia's Choice public and political bloc, whose founding congress was held in Moscow, is one of the leaders of the electoral marathon. In the lobby of the congress the Russia's Choice movement, which is the main component part of the bloc, was described as "the president's party", the newspaper points out.

The publication of the Defence Ministry writes that the founding congress of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord was held on the same days in Novgorod. "These are not two electoral movements, isolated from each other, but rather two shades of one political spectrum—that of the political forces, which support the reform and President Yeltsin," the newspaper writes.

According to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the founding on the same day of the Russia's Choice bloc and of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord is not accidental. These "complicated and intricate political manouvers are actually developing according to a clear and firm inside logic. Moreover, the impression is that the process is being well coordinated and controlled ... The whole of the electoral campaign shows that things are moving (or being moved) to the creation of two superparties with little political difference between them, but relying on different social groups. One of the parties (Russia's Choice) will rely on Moscow, on intellectuals, while the other one will be supported by provinces," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, publication of the government, carries an article by Anatoliy Antonov, head of the centre for Socio-Strategic Studies. Analysing the situation in which the electoral campaign is developing, he writes that "after the tragic events in Moscow (on October 3 and 4) the situation has changed radically. Its essence is not only the liquidation of the stronghold of conservative forces, but also the beginning of the desovetization of the country and the changing of the whole power structure. The replacement of councils (soviets) by new, more effective bodies of power has been brought about by objective necessity, since the form of statehood based on soviets has long become inadequate to the real processes in society, to changes in the economy and in the social structure. Thus, this is not an ordinary electoral campaign, but a unique situation, which can be overcome through general elections ... In this situation democrats have indisputable advantages so far," Antonov writes.

Newspapers carry President Yeltsin's decree "on holding a nationwide voting on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation", due to be held on December 12, 1993.

Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin believes that the only way left for Russia is to continue the reforms. "A draft decree to regulate land relationships in order to further promote the ongoing land reform in russia shall be submitted to the president shortly," he told the newspaper MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLETS, which publishes the interview with him today. "Article I of this decree says that land in the Russian Federation may be privately owned by citizens and legal persons, state and municipal organisations. Collective ownership of land arises when landowners voluntarily unite into associations. This is a new stand on the land problem," Shokhin stresses. "This is one of the ways out of the present situation, one of the ways to achieve economic freedom," he adds.

"The central election commission is able to ensure fair elections," Vice-Chairman of the Commission Aleksandr Ivanchenko believes. "Firstly, we are controlled by public opinion. Moreover, our work is open to the public and we make no bones of its procedural forms and of our documents," Ivanchenko told the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN. "If conflicts happen to arise, one can appeal against the actions of district election commissions to corresponding courts and to the Central Election Commission. The actions of the latter may be contested in the Supreme Court. We meet the requirements of the law and adhere to them. Our work is strictly regulated."

"The potential of the 'Russia's Option' bloc is borne out by the fact that many prominent politician, including some that are currently at the helm of power, have joined it," an analyst of the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA writes today, denying the recent attacks on this election alignment. "Firstly, the officials it includes," in his opinion, "constitute, in fact, the part of the cabinet that appeared on the political scene together with the president and is consistently backing his reforms. Secondly, the 'Russia's Option' movement began to be formed not in the centre, but in the regions. Its initiators include more than 50 regions of the country. Weighty socio-political forces have joined the bloc, including the Democratic Russia Movement, the Russian Peasants Party, the Republican Party, the Democratic Initiative Party, several unions of intellectual workers and democratic organisations."

A commentary published by the newspaper "24" is devoted to the military doctrine of Russia, which was drawn up by the Defence Ministry and is to be discussed and approved shortly by the Russian Security Council. "Russia believes that international disputes should be settled by peaceful means and adheres to the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in domestic affairs, and non-violation of state borders," Lieutenant-General G.Ivanov, chief of the military construction and reforms department of the Russian Defence Ministry, notes among the main postulates of the doctrine. "Russia does not regard any state as its potential enemy. It will not use military force against any state if not attacked."

The 440-sq. metre flat of former Russian Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, which is on the sixth floor of a building in the centre of Moscow which used to belong to the CPSU Central Committee, has figured repeatedly in the Russian press. Today this subject was raised again by the newspaper "24". "It is an unfortunate apartment," the newspaper writes, recalling that "it was built for Leonid Brezhnev, who refused to occupy it for some unknown reason. Konstantin Chernenko died a week after moving into it. Mikhail Gorbachev was also offered to occupy the flat, but he preferred a more modest apartment. Boris Yeltsin inspected the apartment and even agreed to live in it, but changed his mind two days later." Khasbulatov moved into the apartment approximately a year later. "The inhabitants of the building believe that the apartment is damned," the newspaper notes.

Press Review for 20 Oct

LD2010061193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0517 GMT 20 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The political parties' and movements' preparations for the forthcoming all-Russia elections to the state Duma (council), scheduled for December 12, this year, are the principal topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER), under the headline "What Will Russia Decide?", carries an analytical article by its news analyst Vitaly Protnikov who, in the light of the forthcoming elections, examines prospects for the preservation of a federative set-up of Russia.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI runs an interview with Nikolai Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, who believes that electoral commissions will be formed before October 23. He is of the opinion that a time-table of preparations for the elections will be followed fully in conformity with the statute of elections to the state Duma and to the Council of the Federation.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, in a commentary headlined "Will Russia Have Cabinet Minister who Will Combine Their Duties With Those of a Deputy to Parliament?", gives two points of view on the right to combine two jobs—those of cabinet minister and a deputy to parliament. In order to provide an exactanswer to this question, it is essential to determine a state set-up of the country, the commentary points out.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in an article headlined "Individual Opposition Candidates May Win Seats in the Duma", emphasises that "the opposition, which has taken up partially a wait-and-see attitude as regards their participation in the 'illegitimate' elections, is unable to forge a powerful election bloc within two months. However, if it assumes the tactic of 'independent candidates', there is a chance that oppositionists who will get seats in the Duma will unite into a new anti-presidential bloc". TRUD points out that elections to the state Duma will involve 8-10 election blocs and coalitions. Although not yet all political forces have organisationally identified themselves as blocs, the Choice of Russia bloc stands preferable chances. A bloc of left- wing forces, of which, the Socialist Party of the Working People is the core, may become a real alternative to democratic associations.

Moscow-based newspapers continue to devote attention to the recent October events in Moscow. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an article headlined "How Many Human Lives Were Claimed by the October Events?", endeavours to find out exact figures of the loss of life during the October revolt.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA turns to the same subject. Under the headline "When the Smoke Over the White House Parliament Building Has Dissipated", the newspapers runs an interview with Lieutenant- General Leonid Ivashov who emphasises the need to set up a competent widely-representative commission to inquire into all circumstances of the October events.

TRUD carries an article by its political news analyst Vitaly Golovachev. "Considering the acuteness of the question about the exact number of the dead in the White House, the authorities should without delay provide exact information on that score," Golovachev maintains.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), in an article headlined "How Many Spy Satellites are in Outer Space Now?", raises the question of how the no easy tasks of Air Defence forces should be tackled under the new conditions. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA analyses some results of the visit of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to Moscow in the light of Armenia's policy with regard to Russia, Georgia, and Turkey.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries remarks by Vladimir Chikovani, military adviser to Georgian Leader Eduard Shevardnadze, under the headline "The Lack of Undivided Authority and Coordination". Chikovani analyses the causes of the defeat of government forces in the fight against the forces of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The organising committee of the 1994 Goodwill Games has signed the first contract for trade within the framework of the games, the newspaper DELOVOY PETERBURG reported. A firm, the name of which was not disclosed so far, has won the right to conduct trade on the territory of the sports-and -concert complex.

It will be the first time that competitions of such a scope will not be directly financed from the budget and will be held on a commercial basis, which will enable both the organisers, enterpreneurs and the city to earn some money. A profit of 20 million U.S. dollars from tourism is expected to be gained.

Military Officers Assassinated in Algeria

LD1910132693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1223 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Myakishev]

[Text] Rabat October 19 TASS—Gunmen have killed two Russian military officers and wounded a third in Algeria. Lieutenant-Colonels Vladimir Valezhnyy and Aleksandr Orlov were shot dead in the desert town of Laghoat, 400 kilometres to the south of the Algerian capital. ITAR-TASS has learned from the press attache of the Russian embassy in Algeria that the assassination took place near the building where Russian specialists—instructors of an anti-aircraft defence school of the Algerian Defence Ministry—are housed.

The tragedy occurred at 20 hours 15 minutes local time.

Automatic fire was suddenly opened at four Russian military experts from a distance of 15 metres by three unknown gunmen hiding in roadside bushes. Two officers were killed on the spot, while Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandr Loshchilin was wounded. The latter's life is not in danger at present.

Condolences Sent to Families

LD1910205493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian Defense Ministry has offered its condolences to the families and friends of Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Valezhny and Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Orlov killed by terrorists in Algeria on October 16. Valezhny and Orlov went to Algeria to help train national military personnel.

The ministry's press office said the Algerian authorities are carrying out an investigation. The country's leadership assured it will take all measures to find and punish the criminals.

The tragedy took place in the town of Laguat, 400 kilometers away from the capital, where the two officers taught flying skills in an air school.

The most probable version is that Islamic extremists were involved in the murder of the Russian officers.

Izvestiya said that the Russian colony in Algeria counted with about 3,000 people.

'Islamic Extremists' Blamed

PM2010075193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Maksim Yusin report: "Deaths of Russian Officers in Algeria"]

[Text] Citing the Russian Embassy in Algiers, AFP has reported that two Russian military advisers were killed by Islamic extremists 16 October. The tragedy occurred in the city of Laghouat, located 400 km south of the country's capital. Lieutenant Colonels Vladimir Valezhnyy and Aleksandr Orlov were working as instructors at a flight school.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has given IZVESTIYA details of the incident. Criminals fired from a vehicle which was driving past Valezhnyy and Orlov at the moment when they were conducting sports lessons.

The reasons for the killing are unknown. The version that extremist Islamic groupings are involved, which appears most likely, has not been finally confirmed. According to information from Smolensk Square, the Algerian Government has expressed condolences to the Russian authorities and promised to find the culprits.

The Russian colony in Algeria numbers approximately 3,000 people. Military cooperation is one of the most important components of Russian-Algerian ties.

Last month two French researchers fell victim to terrorists in Algeria. They were kidnapped and killed by an unknown group. According to the most widespread opinion, the crime was the handiwork of Islamic fundamentalists waging a struggle against the Algerian regime.

U.S. Secretary of State's Visit Previewed

LD1910144093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1417 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The programme of United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit to Russia, beginning on Thursday night [21 October], will be crammed to capacity, according to Russian Foreign Minsitry officials.

On Friday, Warren Christopher will meet President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin, and later Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

After talks with Russian officials Warren Christopher will hold a press conference for Russian and foreign journalists.

The United States is paying special attention to the upcoming visit. President Bill Clinton said in an interview with American radio broadcasting companies that the main task of the secretary of state's visit to Moscow will be to discuss "a possible Russian-American summit" to be held early next year and U.S. support for democratization and reforms in Russia.

According to the U.S President, Warren Christopher intends to call on the Boris Yeltsin government to step up efforts to finalize the new Russian constitution, organize parliamentary elections and fully restore democratic principles in the country.

The U.S. secretary of state will also inform the Russian leadership about the execution of the American and international programmes of assistance to Russia and discuss problems of newly independent states. Another problem of concern to the American leadership is the withdrawal of russian troops from Latvia and Estonia.

U.S. To Purchase Russian, Ukrainian Uranium

LD1910175093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The United States intends to buy uranium from Russian and Ukrainian nuclear warheads for its atomic power stations, said a high-ranking representative of the U.S. Administration. It is estimated that the total value of the contract will amount to approximately $12 billion, of which Moscow will get $10 billion and Kiev $1-2 billion.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing

Views Dumping of Radioactive Waste

LD1910164393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] During Boris Yeltsin's recent visit to Japan, the two parties discussed the problem of dumping liquid radioactive waste into the sea and welcomed the idea of organizing a Russian-Japanese expedition to study the dumping of radioactive waste in the seas of the Far Eastern Region and broadening cooperation in this sensitive area, the Russian Foreign Ministry's spokesman Grigory Karasin said during a briefing on Tuesday [19 October].

He also said that an agreement was reached with Japan on holding a second session of the joint working group charged with the task of solving this problem on November 10 and 11.

Expresses Concern Over Guatemala

LD1910213593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"The Guatemalan leadership's dragged out inability to normalise the situation in the country causes lawful concern in Russia, as in the entire world community," Grigoriy Karasin, head of the Information and Press Directorate of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

"This concern," he stressed, "is even more understandable if we bear in mind that the smouldering civil war in Guatemala not only undermines the country's economic and socio-political development, but, given certain conditions, may destabilise the situation in Central America as a whole."

"We believe," Karasin said, "that the Guatemalans themselves should seek ways to normalise the situation in the country by peaceful means. However, Moscow still proceeds from the conviction that the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, which possess rich experience in settling crises in other Central American countries, should make a weighty contribution to the creation of favourable conditions for bringing the negotiations in Guatemala to a successful end."

Comments on Estonian Elections

LD1910215693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1416 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—According to Estonian observers, Estonian voters were not active at the recent elections in the Baltic republic, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing here today.

He said Estonian citizens were less active than Estonian residents who failed to be naturalized. A possible reason for this is the first real opportunity for non-naturalized Estonian residents to express their opinion in elections.

The fact a large number of the so-called "non-citizens" took part in the elections proves they are loyal to the new state and its institutions.

"We would like to hope the recent elections will be an important facet of the beginning dialogue between the republican authorities and representatives of the Russian-speaking population, and the new bodies will help stabilize the situation and improve inter-ethnic relations," stressed Karasin.

Views UNESCO Budget

LD1910172793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panoram" feature]

[Text] At the 27th session of the UNESCO [UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] conference to be held from October 25-November 16 in Paris, Russia will speak in favor of "null real growth of this organization's budget" which is to constitute about $455 Mn over the next two years, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing on Tuesday in Moscow.

He also reported that the Russian delegation headed by the Chairman of the Commission on UNESCO and Science and Technical Policy Minister Boris Saltykov will speak in favor of the "restoration of UNESCO's universality and return of the United States, Great Britain, and Singapore to this organization."

According to Karasin, the conference is to hold reelections of the UNESCO general director. "Like many other countries, Russia has already declared its support for the candidacy of the present General Director Federico Major," he said.

In response to a Japanese journalist, Karasin noted that the Russian Foreign Ministry shares the approach contained in the statement of Japan's First Deputy Foreign Minister Kunikhiko Saito who had called mass media "not to present in an extremely sensational image the issue on nuclear waste dumping by a Russian ship." "Saito expressed hope that this accident would not influence general nature of contacts between Japan and Russia and called to develop friendly relations between the two neighboring countries," said Karasin.

Details Kozyrev's Trip Schedule

LD1910181793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1736 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Tatanov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev will visit France from October 21-22, according to Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin.

He said the visit will include talks with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Alain Juppe, a conversation with President Francois Mitterrand, a meeting with Prime Minister Eduard Balladur and other officials. Two agreements are expected to be signed - on cooperation in dismantling nuclear weapons in Russia and on cooperation in ensuring safe transportation of nuclear weapons in Russia. The visit will also mark the centennial of the Russian- French Union, the spokesman said

From October 24-25, Andrey Kozyrev will pay a visit, the first by a Russian minister of foreign affairs in twenty years, to Ireland. He will meet President Mary Robinson, Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and other officials for talks. The two countries are due to sign a joint declaration.

From October 26-28, the Russian minister will be for an official visit to Britain, where he will meet Prime Minister John Major, the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hurd. He will also speak in the Royal Institute of International Relations Chatham House.

On October 28 the minister will take part in the ceremony of opening of Russia's consulate general in the capital of Scotland, Edinburgh, Karasin said.

Confirms Commitment to Peace in FRY

LD1910201493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1909 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—Russia advocates a political settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia, Grigoriy Karasin, a Foreign Ministry official, told a press conference here on Tuesday [19 October] in connection with U.S. threats of air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions.

Karasin, however, said he was not familiar with the text of Christopher's statement, and added that only one side could hardly be accused of the latest developments.

So far, Moscow had many times categorically claimed it was against any use of force in resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Today's statement by the Foreign Ministry official, however, was less categoric than some of the previous ones, which was possibly a result of the fact that Moscow had neither previously been informed about the U.S. secretary of state's statement, nor had previous Washington-Moscow consultations been made.

Karasin answered somewhat vaguely the question about the latest initiatives by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on a global settlement of the conflict in the territory of former Yugoslavia and the organization of an international conference.

Karasin said that Moscow supports all proposals and ideas aimed at resolving the crisis and added that new initiatives would have to be maximally concrete and to be the result of objective circumstances.

New possible initiatives and proposals can obtain results only if they are endorsed by all the concerned parties, said Karasin.

Yeltsin Issues Edict on CIS Information, Law Cooperation

LD2010105593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] President Yeltsin has issued an edict on cooperation between the Russian Federation and CIS member states in the sphere of information and law, Russian Federation presidential press service reports. The document takes into account the growing importance of coordinating policies in order to ensure compliance with the agreement on setting up the economic union. Appropriate ministries and departments have been instructed to develop a concept for creating an interstate system for provision of legal information and a draft interstate agreement on cooperation in the provision of legal information.

CIS Debt to Russia at 3 Trillion Rubles

LD1910221593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2117 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The overall debt of CIS states to Russia amounts to about 3 trillion rubles, Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth States, said at a session of the commission for operational issues of the Russian Government.

He stressed that the CIS states have no chance of paying back this money in 1994. Vladimir Mashits added that Russia, too, owes money to CIS states, but its debt is considerably smaller.

Leadership Analyzes Shevardnadze's Appeal

LD1910132593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Russian leadership is carefully analysing the appeal of Georgian leader eduard Shevardnadze to the peoples and governments of Russia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, urging them to "help Georgia bring back peace and tranquility, to defend its territorial integrity and its choice in favour of democracy and freedom," director of the department of information and press of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing today.

Responding to questions of journalists, he said that Russia would render assistance to the Georgian leadership and would do all it can for "alleviating and lessening the hardships of the Georgian people."

General Outlines Russian Interests in Georgia

BR1910143193 Paris LIBERATION in French 16-17 Oct 93 p 19

[Interview with General Beltchemko, deputy commander of Russian troops in the Transcaucasus, by Natalie Nougayrede in Tbilisi; date not given: "Moscow Has Always Supported Georgia's Territorial Integrity"]

[Text] General Beltchemko, deputy commander of the Russian troops in Transcaucasia, explains how Russia is attempting to protect its interests in the Caucasus without taking sides in the various ethnic conflicts raging there.

General Vasiliy Beltchemko (aged 47) has been deputy commander of all Russian troops in the Transcaucasus since 1987. He has under his authority over 30,000 men in three divisions, two in Georgia and one in Armenia (evacuation of Russian bases in Azerbaijan was completed in the spring). From 1982 to 1987, Vasiliy Beltchemko was based in Czechoslovakia, at the Milovice Headquarters of the Warsaw Pact-based Russian troops.

[Nougayrede] What is the doctrine of the Russian Army in the Caucasus?

[Beltchemko] Our objectives are defined in the agreement signed by Russia and Georgia on 8 October regarding the status of our troops here. These objectives take into account the interests of both Russia and Georgia. In the Caucasus, the stakes are twofold. North Caucasus is part of Russia. We are trying to take into account the interests of the peoples of North Caucasus and to promote their development as part of Russia. Our ambition is also to restore peace, to create a peaceful Caucasian house. This is why President Yeltsin has been so patient with the Chechen Republic (which proclaimed its independence in 1991—editor's note). Politically, such patience always brings results.

[Nougayrede] In Moscow, the armed forces supported Boris Yeltsin. Georgia has now joined the Commonwealth of Independent States, following the example of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Is the Russian Army now in a stronger position?

[Beltchemko] The Russian Army does feel stronger now; this is obvious. Each political upheaval strengthens our position. We are the defender of the motherland and the nation, as any army should be. We are the true patriots, and we know the value of human life.

[Nougayrede] There is much talk here about the "Islamic thrust" on Russia's periphery. Is this a concern?

[Beltchemko] I do not think that this is such a pressing issue; at least Russia has not been overemphasizing it. We are considering every element of the new military doctrine, this one included. Above all, we strive not to provoke neighboring states such as Turkey or Iran.

[Nougayrede] Russian troops have been accused of helping Abkhaz separatists in their fight against the Georgian Armed Forces. Please define Russian strategic interests in the Caucasus.

[Beltchemko] Russia cannot exist without the Black Sea. This is where our strategic interest lies. No one should be worried by this. Like all large countries, Russia must protect its interests; however, this does not mean that it is trying to impose its will or trying to grab new territories. Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has said that we will talk with Georgia in order to take into account the interests of Georgia, Abkhazia, and Adjaria (an autonomous republic inside Georgia with access to the Black Sea—editor's note). Grachev's statement may have been misinterpreted. He did not allude to Georgia's potential disintegration. Russia has always supported Georgia's territorial integrity. Superpowers will always act in their time-honored fashion, you know. For example, the United States has shown no eagerness to leave its European outposts. However, the world is now a different place, and there is a new factor: The need to take into account the national interests of countries where our troops are stationed. Just like the Americans, we want to go as far as possible beyond our borders, without threatening anyone. I would even go so far as to say that the American approach is an inspiration for us (he smiles).

[Nougayrede] Pavel Grachev has said that he wants more tanks along Russia's southern border. Why?

[Beltchemko] I am not privy to this particular piece of information; therefore I cannot answer you.

[Nougayrede] Eduard Shevardnadze has asked the Russian Army to protect Georgia's main railway lines. How can you do this and not be drawn into the Georgian civil war?

[Beltchemko] Our approach to this issue is being discussed in Moscow. There will be problems, but nothing that we cannot handle. Our men will protect the railroad between Poti and Tbilisi. As for Armenian, Georgian, or Azeri freight trains using the line, they will be protected by troops supplied by their respective countries. We have no political preference in this civil war (fought between armies led by Eduard Shevardnadze and Zviad Gamsakhurdia—editor's note); this is a peaceful operation whose goal is to restore economic links in the Caucasus. However, if we are attacked, we will defend ourselves.

[Nougayrede] There are now 18,000 Russian soldiers in Georgia. Is Moscow ready to send more troops there?

[Beltchemko] The decision will be made by the Russian defense minister.

Baltin on Black Sea Fleet 'Final Verdict'

LD1910210093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] A final verdict on the future of the Black Sea Fleet rests with the Russian and Ukrainian presidents since there is no certainty that the two will be able to implement the Massandra accords, BSF [Black Sea Fleet] Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin told Interfax.

Yeltsin and Kravchuk meeting in Massandra, Crimea, on September 3, had agreed that Ukraine would sell its share of the Fleet to Moscow in exchange for its debt for fuel imports from Russia.

The Massandra summit had in fact focused on approaches to the BSF issue failing to put them down in writing, Baltin said adding that "the Massandra protocol remained on paper alone."

In his words, nothing of substance had been achieved after two meetings by the Russian and Ukrainian commissions.

Nor was the Admiral optimistic about a resolution on the status of Sevastopol adopted by the former Russian parliament because none of its previous decision-making had been implemented.

The BSF commander pointed to an increased NATO naval presence in the Black Sea which has become permanent since early this year. He said various class warships of different countries were being sent to the region. Baltin said U.S., British, French and even Danish warships had visited the region this year and that a French destroyer is due to arrive there between October 18-30.

This will be the fifteenth call by NATO warships to the region in 1993 unlike two or four calls a year in the past when the former Soviet Union was still alive, Baltin said.

On the Fleet's performance, Baltin refrained from praising the BSF on ethical grounds though lauding the Fleet's operation to evacuate Georgian refugees from Abkhazia.

Baltin said this year's training exercises were designed to practise in mock emergency situations. He said naval groups had now been set up which will be ready to go on special assignments a day after appropriate orders have been sent.

A task force such as this can evacuate refugees from areas of conflict and carry out operations both at sea and land, Baltin said.

General on Ukraine's Not Observing Agreement

LD1910232593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Nuclear warheads, which are on the brink of failure and which were to be transported to a Russian factory producing them according to the agreement reached between Ukrainian and Russian military departments, are still kept on the Ukrainian territory under conditions which do not meet elementary security and safety requirements. Colonel General Yevgeny Maslin, Chief of the Russian Defense Ministry Main Department, announced this in an exclusive interview with Interfax on Tuesday [19 October]. He laid the responsibility for this situation on the Ukrainian party.

According to the general, this January hydrogen was found on two nuclear warheads stationed in Ukraine. In summer, the parties reached an agreement to transport these warheads to Russia and on September 5 Ukraine's defense ministry reaffirmed its readiness to provide for unimpeded transportation of the cargo on September 30. Nevertheless, on October 5 the Ukrainian party suspended transportation under the pretext of customs inspection. Since then the dangerous cargo haas remained in railway cars on Ukrainian territory (for two weeks now).

Maslin drew attention to the fact that the intergovernmental agreement "On Utilization of Nuclear Warheads" reached on September 3 in the Crimea does not provide for customs inspection of such cargo. He also expressed perplexity due to the telegram received on October 14 and signed by Ukraine's defense minister in which the Kiev military department asks the Russian government to reconfirm that the transported ammunitions are to be included in the compensation for all nuclear warheads stationed in Ukraine.

Kiev's actions, the Russian general said, cannot be subjected to a logical explanation. He voiced the supposition that they are caused either by a misunderstanding of the possible dangerous consequences of such a misconduct with nuclear warheads or "disorder in supreme power echelons" in the "neighboring state."

Chernomyrdin, Moldovan Leaders Discuss Economic Ties

LD1910180493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1134 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today is holding talks with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli in the government building in Staraya Square in central Moscow.

The two countries are discussing a wide range of questions relating to economic cooperation between them. It is not ruled out that they will sign an intergovernmental agreement on the "zero option" under which Moldova will transfer to Russia its rights to handle a share of the former Soviet Union's assets and liabilities, ITAR-TASS learned from Vladimir Mashits, chairman of Russia's State Committee for Economic Cooperation with countries-members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Golushko, Moldova's Kalmoy Discuss Crime Prevention Moves

LD2010085893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1520 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct—Russian Security Minister Nikolay Golushko and Moldovan Security Minister Vasiliy Kalmoy met in Moscow today. ITAR-TASS has learned from the Security Ministry public relations center that during the meeting they discussed how to improve cooperation in the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal sales of weapons and drugs, protection of borders, and how to stop illegal travel abroad through Russian and Moldovan territory by citizens of third countries.

The parties agreed to sign a cooperation agreement in the very near future.

Russian-Latvian Talks Proceeding in Moscow

LD2010081493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] In Moscow today, talks continued between Latvian and Russian delegations on the withdrawal of the Russian army from Latvia.

During the dinner break, a member of the Russian delegation said that the leader of the Latvian delegation to the talks, Martins Virsis, and the leader of the Russian delegation, Sergey Zotov, had agreed on the confidential nature of the talks. The members of both countries' delegations were said to have received instructions to on no account give any details of the course or results of the talks. However, it was disclosed that during the morning meeting today, the issue of the social guarantees for Russian army staff, as well as retired officers, was settled. The head of the department of (?special) information at the Russian Foreign Ministry, Mr. (?Karastin), stated at a news conference that the Russian-Latvian talks should be concluded by 21 October. He also declined to comment in more detail.

In the evening, I managed to meet a member of the Latvian delegation, [name indistinct]. He briefly told me about today's talks: they had revolved the property issue and the problems of housing. He said that the issue of the radar station Skrunda was dealt with. The problem of Skrunda was analyzed on the first day of the talks. The round of talks is due to conclude on 21 October. The hope is that it will be possible to conclude an agreement on consular activity. This document is said to be ready for signing. Dainis Turlajs noted that the Latvian side had not been hoping for any surprises in these talks. The most important thing is that they have started talking about borders [words indistinct] an important factor determining how the course of the talks could go. At present, it appears quite unclear.

For Latvia, the most important thing remaining is the deadline for the withdrawal of the Russian Army. For Russia, the most important thing relates to property, the issue of housing and social guarantees for the Russian (?soldiers). Dainis Turlajs noted that the most important and significant matter to be settled could be a meeting between the leaders of the two countries.

Kozyrev Meets With Swedish Foreign Minister

LD1910121993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1020 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—A meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Swedish counterpart Margaretha Af Ugglas began here at the Russian Foreign Ministry building a short while ago. Margaretha Af Ugglas, who is now chairman of the CSCE, arrived for a brief working visit here today. The main subject of the ongoing talks is the settlement of local conflicts in CIS countries, primarily in Transcaucasia.

Margaretha Af Ugglas plans to pay working visits to Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. She is expected to leave for Transcaucasia on October 25.

Briefs Journalists

LD1910141593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1303 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct—During a meeting at the Russian Foreign Ministry, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Af Ugglas discussed such problems as enhancing the CSCE's role and cooperation with Russia in efforts to settle "trouble-spots" on CIS territory. Margaretha af Ugglas is paying a one-day working visit to Moscow in her capacity as CSCE chairman.

Addressing journalists after the talks, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that they had had "a businesslike discussion. The parties did not conceal difficulties in resolving the problems under discussion, a certain difference of emphasis. However, most importantly, the meeting confirmed that the CSCE, Sweden, and the Russian Federation are on the side of peace and against war. This was a discussion among like-minded people."

In the view of the Russian minister, under present conditions, the CSCE "is reacting increasingly actively and decisively to the challenges of the time, not resting on its laurels." This is, above all, the case with the organization's actions against aggressive nationalism.

Replying to questions from journalists, Andrey Kozyrev said that the sides examined the question of helping Georgia (at the latter's request) to stabilize the situation in the republic. The Russian minister called for resolute measures to protect the road from Poti to Tbilisi, which he described as a veritable "road of life" for the entire region. Andrey Kozyrev said that this might require "tough measures," but he does not believe that these will be "unilateral measures by Russia alone." He stressed that at issue was "participation by the CSCE, the Caucasus states, and the lawful Government of Georgia."

Margaretha Af Ugglas noted for her part that the CSCE backs the processes of democratic change in Russia, regards the elections due in December as extremely important in this regard and, at the request of the Russian side, will send its observers to the elections. She expressed the hope that the elections will be held "openly and in full accordance with democratic principles."

Comments on Georgia

LD1910211093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Report on news conference by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy, in Moscow on 19 October, including recorded remarks by Kozyrev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Georgia is developing fast and in an alarming way. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's words appear to express Russia's official position.

[Kozyrev] In any case, I am in favor of taking resolute measures aimed at ensuring safety of the Poti-Tbilisi road.

[Beletskiy] Kozyrev made this statement at a meeting with journalists after his talks today with Margaretha af Ugglas, Swedish foreign minister, who is the current CSCE chairman. Kozyrev stressed that in reply to Eduard Shevardnadze's appeal to CIS countries, concrete actions are being now studies in the CIS, Russia, and other Transcaucasian republics.

[Kozyrev] Nobody is interfering in Georgia's internal affairs or in the civil war, but the protection of this road which is, in essence, a road of life both for Tbilisi, our military units stationed in Georgia in accordance with a bilateral agreement, and Armenia and Azerbaijan since this road leads from Tbilisi to both Yerevan and Baku—it is in the interests of the four states to protect this road.

[Beletskiy] Kozyrev clarified that it was not a question of unilateral measures by Russia but that of the participation of CSCE, Transcaucasian states and Georgia's legitimate government.

Af Ugglas said that CSCE supported the processes of democratic reform in Russia and, consequently, regarded the elections due in December as very important and would send its observers to the elections at Russia's request.

Commentary Views Talks

LD1910154593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1341 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Viktor Levin commentary; from the "Mayak Panorama" program]

[text] Talks took place in Moscow today between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Af Ugglas, who is visiting Russia in her capacity as current chairperson of the CSCE. She will be going on to visit Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Andrey Kozyrev and Margaretha af Ugglas discussed the situation in the hot-spots in the Transcaucasus. The situation in the region is essentially such that the whole of it can be described as a hot-spot. Andrey Kozyrev again raised the issue of the CSCE giving its support to Russia's peacemaking actions, so that we would be acting not on our own volition, so to speak, but on the instructions of the CSCE.

The Swedish foreign minister apparently raised no objections, but no decision is yet forthcoming. It has been talked about for quite a long time, but nevertheless... [incomplete sentence as heard]

Journalists asked what the Swedish guest thought about the processes currently taking place in Russia. Margaretha af Ugglas welcomed the forthcoming parliamentary elections and said that the CSCE will send observers—as Andrey Kozyrev indeed requested—and she expressed hope that the elections will be free and democratic. It would be absurd to expect anything else of a representative of the Swedish Government, but what is worded as an expression of hope in official Western circles arouses concern among the public. A number of aspects of the election campaign do not fit in with democratic norms, and this is being talked about in the West with growing concern.

Grachev Begins Visit to Finland

LD1810210093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev began his official visit to Finland on 18 October. Svetlana Pankratova, our correspondent in Helsinki, has the details:

[Pankratova] The Russian military delegation is visiting for three days. Grachev is to meet Finnish President

Mauno Koivisto and is to have talks with Defense Minister Elisabeth Rehn. He is also to pay a visit to an army brigade in Turku. The current meeting between Grachev and Rehn is the second meeting between them. This March the Finnish Defense Minister visited Russia and acquainted herself with the state of affairs in Leningrad Military District.

Of course, the Finnish side's interest in precisely this area was not a matter of coincidence. Finland is making no secret of the fact that it is somewhat concerned at the redeployment of the Russian military units being withdrawn from the Baltic and Eastern European countries to Russia's northwestern borders. This issue will be debated during the current meeting.

Representatives of the Russian Defense Ministry have told us that the redeployment of this kind is made necessary, first and foremost, by the tight schedule of the withdrawal of the Russian troops. In such conditions, it is only the Leningrad and the Northwest Military Districts that have at their disposal the requisite number of apartments for the servicemen.

Russia's new military doctrine, adopted on 15 October, as well as the changes in Finland's defense policy in connection with the country's forthcoming membership of the European Community, have also been included on the agenda of the visit. Representatives of both sides emphasize, however, that irrespective of all the changes in the defense area, the relations between Russia and Finland will continue to be built on the basis of the treaty on good- neighborliness, which both countries concluded in 1992.

Watches Ground Forces Exercise

LD1910213293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki October 19 TASS—Today is the second day of Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev's stay in Finland, where is paying an official visit at the invitation of Finnish Defence Minister Elisabeth Rehn.

The Russian defence minister flew to Turku early today morning on board a Finnish military aircraft to visit the "Pori" Army Brigade deployed near that town. He is accompanied by Elisabeth Rehn and Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Defence Forces Admiral Jan Klenberk. Grachev was acquainted with the organisation of Finnish ground forces, and watched an artillery battery in action. The hosts showed him their anti-aircraft defence facilities and other hardware.

Seeks Clarification of NATO Plans

LD1910204393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At the start of his official visit, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said he could have missed his trip to Helsinki because of the situation in Georgia. However, he added in conversation with Finnish Defense Minister Elisabeth Rehn, he thought it was important to stick with the scheduled visit.

These words uttered by the Russian general not only show gallantry towards a lady but also indicate that this visit means much more than maintaining normal contacts between the two countries' armies. Discussion is under way in Finland about the country joining NATO. A few days before the visit Yuriy Deryabin, Russia's ambassador to Finland, put out feelers in this area and called upon Finland to heed Russia's interests and not to rush to join NATO. It seems that Grachev will have to specify Moscow's position.

The Finns, however, prepared their own questions. What are the prospects for building up conventional forces and weapons in the Leningrad Military District? Will Finland's interests be taken into account in Russia's military doctrine which is being finalized now?

Comments on Georgia

LD2010110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 20 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki October 20 TASS—Russia cannot interfere into the civil war in Georgia as this can be interpreted as an interference into internal affairs of another state, the "HELSINGIN SANOMAT" newspaper said on Wednesday [20 October] commenting on the statement of visiting Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev.

"Georgia is an independent state with which Russia has no agreement on military cooperation. Georgia is not a CIS member and thus it is not included into the sphere of joint measures to ensure security", Grachev was quoted as saying.

Russia can render help to Georgia only by ensuring an unimpeded movement along major transport links of the country. At the request of (Eduard) Shevardnadze troops of Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia can guard a highway leading to Tbilisi with the aim of securing shipments of food and medicines to Georgia", Grachev said.

Further Reportage

WA1910150193

For reportage on the visit to Finland by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, including reports on his meeting with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, see the Nordic section of the 19 October and subsequent issues of the West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Poland Seeks Security in NATO, Better Ties With Russia

MK1910090593 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 42, 17 Oct 93 (signed to press 12 Oct) p A15

[Report by Valeriy Masterov, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI own correspondent in Warsaw, under the "Security" rubric: "Poland Seeks NATO Umbrella. Moscow Events Increased Poland's Desire To Join the North Atlantic Bloc"]

[Text] Fears that the army, which played the key role in quelling the revolt in Moscow, would strengthen its influence in the country and would then lay down policy in regard to neighbors near and far, quickly replaced the jubilation over the victory for the presidential structures in Russia. In Belvedere, the residence of the Polish president, the pledge of complete confidence in Boris Yeltsin was followed by a statement that Poland is looking for guarantees of its security in an alliance with the North Atlantic pact.

That Poland's membership in NATO (which Warsaw has been trying to join since 1990) is virtually sealed, was also reiterated the other day by Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz who, however, remarked that it is impossible to isolate such a huge state as Russia. Everyone was waiting for the reaction from the left-wingers who won in the recent parliamentary elections.

Here is what your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent was told by Jozef Oleksy, candidate for marshal of the Sejm, and one of the architects of the new government coalition: "We have no differences with the previous government over Poland's joining NATO, but at the same time we must care for broader economic cooperation with Russia because the previous governments underestimated Polish interests in the East. We should ask ourselves the questions: Which organization are we joining? What could our losses be? What is the U.S. and NATO strategy toward Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus? Even if we become members of this alliance, we would still remain these countries' neighbors."

Nuclear Dumping in Sea of Japan Explained

LD1910133093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The scandal connected with the dumping of liquid radioactive waste by Russian ships in the Sea of Japan continues to escalate. Our correspondent presents the Russian point of view from Vladivostok.

[Unidentified correspondent] The dumping of 900 cubic meters of water from the cooling ducts of atomic submarine reactors into the Sea of Japan is only the first stage of an operation sanctioned by the Russian Ministry for the Protection of Nature for resuming the burial of liquid radioactive waste. It was discontined in February last year, but this spring, the command of the Pacific Fleet gave a warning that all temporary storage tanks were full, and moreover, these dangerous liquids were being stored on old 30-year-old tankers and there was no guarantee that a spontaneous emission would not occur right on the coast, and so over the coming week, another 800 cubic meters will be discharged into the Sea of Japan.

[Begin Danelyan recording] This is a forced, necessary step, because atomic submarines continue to be used and the process of their operation cannot be stopped. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The upcoming operation was notified in time to the International Atomic Energy Agency, but all the accusations against Russia are based purely on the fact that the previous Soviet leadership had not joined the London convention, following which the nuclear fleets of NATO act in exactly the same way. The construction of facilities for the regeneration of liquid radioactive waste in the Far East will begin no earlier than 1995, but Pacific Fleet specialists are not counting on being able to make real use of them before 10 years time.

Japan Urges Yeltsin To Halt Dumping

LD2010092293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0554 GMT 20 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo October 20 TASS—Japanese deputy premier and foreign minister Tsutomu Hata contacted Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by telephone today and urged him to cancel the dumping of the second shipload of Russian low radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan, planned to take place shortly.

TASS has learned from the Japanese Foreign Ministry that Hata noted during the twenty-minute telephone talk that Tokyo was very much disturbed by this problem. He asked Kozyrev to inform President Boris Yeltsin about the Japanese concern. The ending of such dumpings, Hata stressed, will help save the new foundation for the development of bilateral relations, laid during the Russian leader's recent visit to Tokyo.

The Japanese foreign minister called for the earliest convocation of a joint team dealing with the dumping of radioactive wastes into the sea. Tokyo, he said, intended to study the question of what aid it could give Russia in order to settle the problem.

According to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev promised to inform President Yeltsin about Japan's stand. Russian public opinion, the minister said, also devotes much attention to the problem of radioactive wastes and both sides must exert efforts to resolve it. Kozyrev also called for an early joint study of the radioactive waste dumping problem.

Russian, Japanese Scientists To Study Radiation Hazards

LD1910180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Russian and Japanese cooperation in studying radiation hazards for the environment and human health will be expanded soon. This was suggested on Tuesday [19 October] to Japanese specialists now staying in Moscow by chiefs of the State Committee for Social Protection of Citizens and Rehabilitation of Territories Affected by the Chernobyl Accident. If the project is endorsed by the Japanese Government, scientists of the two countries will be studying the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and will also analyse medical aspects of radiation hazards in Chelyabinsk and Semipalatinsk.

The Chernobyl disaster has huge scopes. It affected thousands of people. It is necessary to collect and store the information on the health of people affected by radiation, said Valeriy Devyatov, deputy chairman of the State Committee on Chernobyl. He believes this can be done by means of contemporary Japanese technologies.

Besides that, there are two more districts in Russia affected by radiation. Over a long time radiation wastes of the Chelyabinsk Mayak enterprise of the atomic industry were discharged into the environment, and thousands of people received irradiation because of the 1957 accident.

Although the Semipalatinsk area is now "clean", the numerous nuclear weapon tests made their over many years had unfavourable consequences for the population's health, Devyatov said.

Therefore he believes that Russia and Japan could pool the efforts for objective assessment of radiation hazards for human health and for the working out of measures to minimise the consequences of radiation accidents.

Agreement Reached in Talks With Chinese on Fishing

LD1910152593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Grigoriy Arslanov]

[Text] Beijing October 19 TASS—The fifth session of the mixed Sino-Russian Commission for Cooperation in Fisheries has ended here. The two sides reached principled accords on further development of contacts between the border regions of Russia and China, particularly on the rational utilisation of the fish stocks of Lake Hanka, the Amur and Ussuri rivers.

The two sides agreed to conduct research, the results of which will serve as a basis for both the utilisation of fish resources and the establishment of Sino-Russian joint ventures for these purposes.

The question of a non-regulated Alaska Pollack fisheries in the central part of the Sea of Okhotsk remained unresolved. The negotiators failed to work out a unified approach to the preservation of Alaska Pollack stocks. The discussion of the issue is to resume in the near future. In view of that, the Russian side refrained from assigning a quota for Chinese boats to catch fish in its economic zone.

Russian and Chinese scientists mapped out a number of projects for joint work in 1994. The realisation of the projects is believed to help rationalise fisheries and conserve the resources of the coastal zone.

Relations between Russia and China, which set their course towards a market economy, are to develop into cooperation in the conservation of raw material resources as the basis for a steady development of the two countries' fisheries, Russian delegation leader Vyacheslav Zilanov, deputy chairman of the Russian Committee for Fisheries, told ITAR-TASS.

Brain Drain to China 'Cause for Concern'

PM2010075593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 7

[Andrey Kabannikov report: "Bridging the Great Wall. Russian Military Specialists Seem To Have Reached Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing—THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reported the other day, citing U.S. Government sources, that up to 1,000 technicians, scientists, and engineers from formerly top-secret arms development [razrabotka] centers in Russia have been recruited to work in China by offers of high salaries and luxurious living conditions. James Lilley, a former U.S. ambassador to China, believes that the figure is even higher at around 3,000. According to the former U.S. diplomat, they are being paid $2,000 a month each and given housing, a car, and generous per diems.

All this, the Clinton administration fears, is facilitating Chinese efforts concentrated on obtaining the technologies to manufacture analogues of SS-25 mobile ICBM's—the latest strategic weapon in the Russian arsenal—which will ultimately allow China's nuclear forces to reach U.S. territory.

Your correspondent has not personally encountered any of these "3,000" here. Although, even if I wanted to, it would probably be almost impossible to do so. If they do exist, they are clearly not driving around Beijing or Shanghai in their free cars, but working away doggedly and unnoticed for the good of the Chinese military-industrial complex somewhere in cities closed to ordinary foreigners in Shaanxi Province—the heart of China's defense industry. Nonetheless, they are mentioned in the world's press from time to time.

But why not make the assumption that the Chinese are acting in the same way—only more cautiously—in respect of our missile or nuclear specialists? There is a well-known story about [word illegible] Russian nuclear scientists [few words illegible] the DPRK. As one of my Chinese [word illegible] explained, a man working for them who undertook to obtain a valued specialist from the CIS would be given a three-month official trip and, in the event of the mission's succeeding, he could expect a sizable bonus.

In order to clarify the situation somewhat, I asked two of our military experts who are currently in Beijing to comment on the WALL STREET JOURNAL report. "This report is nothing new as far as we are concerned," Valeriy Levshunov, a specialist at the Russian Government's Defense Complex and Conversion Department, said. "But it is written in general terms, we have no concrete facts to show that any key figures in the Russian military-industrial complex have started working for the neighboring power. All these assumptions with no proof to back them up may reflect some people's fears rather than the reality. Although we are raising this subject in talks with the Chinese."

My other interlocutor, who is equally [word illegible] but wished to remain anonymous, was much more categorical: "I do not know about the specific figures, but the trend is reflected accurately. The brain drain and the transfer of technology from our defense sector continues. The military-industrial complex is prepared to sell a lot, if not everything, to save itself. There is no effective state control over this. We do still have a data base on people who have had access to secrets, but it is in such an antiquated state that it is impossible to use effectively. People with knowledge of strategic secrets can cross the border easily. What they take with them 'hidden under their hats' is anyone's guess. Shall I give you an example? Two of our laser weapons specialists suddenly turned up in Beijing. Quite by chance they were recognized on the street by the wife of one of our leading designers who was staying here. Nobody could say what they were doing here. The son of a former Union vice premier—a missile specialist, incidentally—is visiting China. Even those who are supposed to be in the know have no idea why he is here. Another example—the Chinese, who had been planning to buy a full license to produce Su-27 aircraft, are now talking merely about acquiring certain technologies. Why? We have very competent people who have given them highly detailed information about the features of production—probably not without some ulterior motive. The Chinese now know exactly what is essential and what they can develop [osvoit] through their own efforts. As a result, our state will lose millions of dollars. I could go on..."

Without getting caught up in spy-mania, we can conclude that the U.S. side—and the Russian side even more so—really does have definite cause for concern. How can we fail to recall in this connection that the United States and the Western countries allocated around $70 million to set up special centers in Moscow and certain other cities to find jobs in the civil sector for defense industry workers? It was only objections from the Russian parliament that prevented this project from going ahead. It is quite likely that the subject of Russian military specialists will be further developed during the forthcoming visit to China by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who is scheduled to arrive in Beijing 8 November.

North Korean Loggers 'May Want To Stay'

PM2010095593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Leonid Mlechin article: "20,000 Korean Loggers May Want To Stay in Russia When Their Contract Expires"]

[Text] What will Russia do with 20,000 unemployed Koreans if the treaty with the DPRK on timber logging in Siberia is not renewed and the Korean loggers do not want to return home, to the Great Leader Kim Il-song and his son, the Beloved Leader Kim Chong-il?

The treaty expires 31 December. The draft of a new agreement is ready, but a struggle is being waged over it.

The defenders of the law in Moscow believe that we should put terms to North Korea that we know to be unacceptable terms and say goodbye to the Korean woodcutters. The economic departments maintain that the Koreans' departure from Siberia will leave Russia without timber.

Between 15,000 and 20,000 Koreans meticulously fell timber without smoking breaks, drinking bouts, or strikes, leaving Russia with 65-70 percent of the procured timber and sending the rest home. From the economic viewpoint the agreement suits everyone. From the political and legal viewpoint the agreement is a disgrace to Russia.

Korean woodcutters established themselves in Amur Oblast's Tyndinskiy Rayon and in Khabarovsk Kray back in the time of Soviet power. The Korean timber procurement establishments received extraterritorial rights, which are granted only to embassies, consulates, and sometimes foreign military bases.

In the new Russia the Koreans have continued to live according to their own laws—with their own party committees and state security departments. It is forbidden to go outside the territory of the timber procurement establishment or to have contacts with local inhabitants without the bosses' permission. Most of the wages are siphoned into the "motherland fund."

Those who attempt to flee or who commit some other offense end up in a special "reeducation" block—a term which has meant very cruel humiliation in the socialist countries of the East. They can be kept in the special block for six months.

A secret agreement concluded between the USSR KGB and the DPRK Ministry of Public Security obliged the Soviet chekists to return all fugitives.

Amnesty International, which campaigns throughout the world for the release of prisoners of conscience, has just complained to Russia over the fact that political prisoners are being held in Korean settlements on its territory and, consequently, with its consent.

This year the Russian Foreign Ministry's Humanitarian Cooperation Department and the parliamentary Human Rights Committee got the government to adopt a special decree: Either a new treaty is concluded on terms which suit Russia, or cooperation with North Korea on Siberian felling lots ceases.

The Foreign Ministry department is headed by Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a well-known defender of law, and the parliamentary committee by Sergey Kovalev, a former political prisoner who has now received a post with vague powers in the presidential administration.

At Sergey Kovalev's insistence, this summer Viktor Barannikov, who was then minister of security, repealed the secret treaty between the DPRK Public Security Ministry and the former USSR KGB on the return of fugitives.

Fulfilling the government's decision, the Russian timber department submitted a draft of the new agreement with North Korea, which differs little from the previous draft. The aim is to keep the Koreans in Siberia because there is no one to replace them on the felling lots.

Russian citizens are unwilling to fell timber under such conditions. Criminal elements and drunks are mostly recruited for timber felling. It is not so much that they want to work as that they are keen to hide from the militia.

According to various data, there are 15,000-20,000 Koreans felling Russian timber. They work according to the tour-of-duty method—one month on the felling lot, then a brief rest and a return to work.

Koreans are brought in for three years, and these are the best years of their life. It is a privilege which is not granted to everyone to get to Russia. In Siberia they earn considerably more than at home.

According to some data, 63 Koreans attempted to flee last year. Nineteen of them were caught and subjected to "reeducation."

Moscow does not know what to do with the fugitives. If they apply to the South Korean Embassy, the diplomats are faced with a difficult choice. From the propaganda viewpoint South Korea is pleased to have refugees from the DPRK, but the embassy does not want to put the Russian Government in an awkward position.

The South Korean Embassy is now hiding fugitives somewhere near Moscow and advising them to ask President Yeltsin for political asylum.

The local authorities, which are interested only in the number of cubic meters of timber cut, are pleased with the present state of affairs: The North Korean bosses themselves ensure order in the timber procurement establishments. The militia and rayon security departments are afraid that they will not be able to cope with the Koreans if they are taken out of the control of their own state security.

Nevertheless, the Foreign Ministry is inclined not to let any more Korean special services personnel come here. From the viewpoint of Russian diplomats the Koreans must sign individual, not group contracts and must have standard international passports, not their own identity cards. It may be suggested that North Korea sign not an interstate document of a political nature but a purely economic contract.

Pyongyang will hardly agree to such terms, but if the agreement is not extended, the Korean loggers may want to remain in Russia. Mindful of what is happening in North Korea, Moscow will find it hard to refuse them. It will not, however, be any easier to find jobs for 20,000 Koreans who, freed from the fear of repression and getting out of control, could prove highly dangerous.

Official Views Dubai Air Show Prospects

PM2010084593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Voynov, director of the Russian section and chief of the advertising and exhibitions department of the "Vneshneekonomicheskoye obedineniye Aviaeksport" joint stock company, by Valentin Rudenko; place and date not given: "Russian Aircraft Builders Leaving for Dubai Not For Sensations But for Contracts"]

[Text] The "Dubai-93" international air show will be held in the capital of the United Arab Emirates 7 through 11 November this year. Our correspondent asked Aleksandr Voynov, director of the Russian section and chief of the advertising and exhibitions department of the "Vneshneekonomicheskoye obedineniye Aviaeksport" joint stock company, to describe what Russia's aircraft builders will exhibit at it.

[Voynov] The Dubai air show, although to some extent it is of a regional nature, is nonetheless very attractive in its way, says Aleksandr Fedorovich. The interests of potential customers from the countries of the Arab East are represented here. Russian aircraft builders first took part in this air show in 1991. At the time they managed to take on a number of tenders for the export of our aviation equipment to countries of the Near East region. In particular commercial mutual relations emerged for the Su-27 fighter which are now developing logically. We link great hopes with the present exhibition.

[Rudenko] Which aircraft and helicopters will our aircraft builders display at it? Will these aircraft become a sensation in the aviation world?

[Voynov] Russia has always exhibited its best at international air shows. "Dubai-93" is no exception in that sense. We will display primarily those aircraft and helicopters which could interest potential customers. They include the long-distance IL-96M passenger liner, the freight version of the Tu-204, the Il-78 tanker, the Be-32 aircraft for local lines, and a whole family of helicopters—the Mi-17M, Mi-171, Mi-35, Mi-26T, Ka-32, and small aircraft—the "Gzhel," "Shmel," "Grach," and others.

Combat aircraft will be represented by the MIG-29, MIG-29M, Su-30MK, and Su-35 fighters and the Ka-50 helicopter.

Our exhibit will also include the world's largest transport aircraft—the giant "Mriya" An-225. We will fly to Dubai and back in it.

[Rudenko] Are demonstration flights planned during the air show?

[Voynov] Of course. It is planned that virtually all our aircraft—except large aircraft—and helicopters will take part in the air program. The point is that the show will take place in the commercial zone of the international airport and there are specific time restrictions there on flights by heavy aircraft.

[Rudenko] What will participation in this show cost us and who will finance the Russian exhibit?

[Voynov] You can understand that it is difficult today to cite the exact expense figure, but it will not be small. International exhibitions are expensive, which is the case throughout the world, but we must invest in them. Without putting ourselves on show it is hard to count on people getting to know us.

One feature of the financing of this air show is that it is being done in full using the several assets of its participants—the design bureaus, scientific research institutes, series-production plants, and other aviation firms and organizations. No special budget appropriations or centralized funds for taking part in the air show are being allocated through state channels.

[Rudenko] Today there are no spare seats in the world market. You have to fight for them, and in my opinion the Russian aircraft builders do not have that many chances of taking up serious tenders for exports of their output.

[Voynov] I do not entirely agree with you. We are analyzing very attentively the reasons for the decline in aircraft production and the prospects and trends for the development of the world aviation industry and have reached the conclusion that beginning in 1995 an increase will be observed in air shipments and consequently thee will be an increase in the demand for aviation equipment. That will apply primarily to mainline aircraft, aircraft for local lines, and light aircraft. We see participation in the Dubai air show in the long-term perspective, and we are going there not simply in the expectation that someone will approach us and ask us something, we are already performing vigorous work with our foreign partners. They have all been notified of what Russia will exhibit at the air show and have been invited to view our equipment.

During the air show itself it is planned to present new aircraft. In particular the Il-96M, the Il-114, and others. One more important detail: the members of the delegation have been chosen in such a way that it will be possible to resolve directly at the air show the question of supplying equipment to a particular country.

The "Vneshneekonomicheskoye obedineniye Aviaeksport" joint stock company, which has over 35 years' experience of supplying aviation equipment abroad, has assumed all organizational work to form the Russian section and ensure the participation of Russia's aircraft builders in the show.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Asserts Commitment to Democracy

PM2010103693 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Oct 93 pp 1,3

["Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin's Answers to NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA Questions"; dated 19 October, Moscow, the Kremlin: "'Mr. President, Can It Be Claimed That You Have Personally Opted for Authoritarian Power?'"]

[Text] [NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! Following the events of 3-4 October and the resolute steps taken by the government, a certain section of society has begun to fear for the fate of democracy in the country.

Can it be claimed that you have personally opted for the establishment of harder-line, authoritarian power, having deemed the path of reforming the country to be no longer possible, or is that viewpoint erroneous, in your view?

In your view, for how long and in what form should the restriction of democratic freedoms continue to operate? Will the ban on the activity of certain political parties and the publication of a number of newspapers be lifted, and who is empowered to make that decision? In general, in your view, is the existence of an opposition in the country permissible today, and within what limits and in what form?

[Yeltsin] First of all I consider it important that Russian society is profoundly concerned about the fate of democracy in our country. This alone is a powerful barrier to totalitarianism and authoritarianism. But the fact that the voices of opponents of democracy are mingled with the voices of sincere supporters of democracy is a different matter. The former see a democratic regime solely as a means to monopolize and usurp power. Distant and recent historical experience and communist theory itself confirms this threat.

None other than Lenin constantly reiterated in his works that bolsheviks must make use of the achievements of democracy to establish the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat." We all know very well what that means. It means a regime where the leader and the nomenklatura are all-powerful, a regime of repression, a regime of cynical lies and contempt for those in whose name the nomenklatura rules.

A democratic politician cannot operate by these methods, and nobody can accuse me of altering my choice—a choice in favor of democratic development in Russia. I have never spoken and, especially, have never acted like a dictator.

Unfortunately the president has been denied the opportunity to act "according to the scenario" of classical democracy. If most of the former Russian deputies had been sincerely interested in calmly reforming our economic and political system they would have been obliged to themselves adopt a decision on early elections for a completely new parliament under completely new election rules. This did not happen. And as president I could not simply "wash my hands of things, observing impassively as the forces of reaction, rejected by the people, pushed increasingly overtly for the restoration of the old order. I regret that not everyone discerned the insidiousness of their intention: to utilize democratic institutions—representative power, the Constitutional Court, the Constitution—for their own ends.

Today it is not a question of cutting off the democratic road but of clearing the ground for the people to make a free choice in favor of one or other model of development. Free elections are a sharp-edged knife for opponents of democracy. It is no accident that today they are arguing that the elections are illegal. By using this argument they graphically expose—maybe unwittingly—what they are essentially about. How can the freely expressed will of the people be illegal? After all, it was for precisely this kind of freedom of expression of will that I was compelled to assume an enormous political responsibility. The former Supreme Soviet simply refused to share this responsibility.

On the subject of the restriction of democratic freedoms: Restrictions have indeed been introduced, but in strict accordance with the Law on a State of Emergency. In addition, there was no question of the total restriction of political rights and freedoms.

The state of emergency regime in Moscow is now over. I emphasize that these restrictions were not introduced and did not operate outside Moscow.

As for the opposition, I would say the following. The president has been and continues to be criticized from all sides. And this criticism is becoming increasingly vigorous now, during the election campaign. Do you have any knowledge of people being put behind bars for criticism?

I can definitely state that there are none. Following the August putsch in 1991 not a single person in Russia was deprived of his freedom for his political convictions.

The unnatural "posse" of fascists and communists, who call themselves the opposition, is something different. Let us dot the "i's": Examined within the framework of democratic standards, this is not an opposition. As an organized political force voters have not given them a mandate to participate in government. An opposition can emerge only now, after elections to parliament on a party basis.

There is no democratic country where the opposition permits itself to describe the legal government as an "occupation" government. Especially since its course won support in a referendum. So if that kind of thing happens you are no longer talking about political opponents of the government but of a desire to seize power by any means. Ultimately our implacable "opposition" showed itself to be precisely like that by taking up arms.

Think about it. For what was blood spilled? So that the people could have the chance to freely elect themselves a normal parliament which, depending on the alignment of political forces in it, would form a government? No. Solely so that deputies and few discredited leaders could continue their activity.

In these conditions the state was obliged to use force to halt the avalanche of violence, which threatened to crush anyone who disagreed and again flood the country with seas of blood.

All this does not mean that I intend to exploit the situation to eliminate associations that totally disagree with the president's course. Neither I nor the country need a "tame" parliament. We are talking about banning only those parties and organizations that are stained with blood. In the next few days I will possibly be signing an edict listing such organizations. It will not be a very long list.

I would also say that it was a sign of our young democracy's weakness and naivety that an "opposition" of this kind, which had adopted violence as part of its armory, operated almost unobstructed in Russia and operated in defiance of the law. Excessive liberalism toward them jeopardized the country's security and the lives of thousands if not millions of people. The activity of such organizations has now been suspended for the sake of democracy and Russia's future. Incidentally we are not stepping outside the framework of international politics and international standards here.

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! The tight deadline for holding the elections to the State Duma and the simultaneous extension of the state of emergency in Moscow have added somewhat to many parties' difficulties in preparing for the elections. What do you see as the guarantee that these elections will be truly free? There are fears that only a few political parties will get the chance to campaign extensively using state funds, including in the government-controlled media, television included. How rational are these fears? Do you consider it possible to answer the question: For the candidates of which specific party will you personally be voting?

[Yeltsin] Strictly speaking, I have already answered your second question, but maybe there is a point in clarifying a few things. All parties and movements officially registered with the Central Electoral Commission will have equal guarantees for conducting their election campaigns and for campaigning for their candidates. The statute on elections clearly states this. And I will strictly monitor the fulfillment of these requirements.

In addition, a statute on informational guarantees of election campaigning has been prepared on my instructions. I will shortly be signing an edict on the subject. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge the Central Electoral Commission is also working on explanatory instructions.

As for the second part of your question, permit me not to answer for the time being. For the time being...

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! Today the government has been given the opportunity to implement economic reforms without having to keep one eye on the hard-line opposition in the shape of parliament. To what extent, in your view, will this affect the success of the reforms? In the absence of an opposition, is there any insurance against the government's making erroneous decisions? Could you tell us which, today, are the most important steps to be taken in the near future in the sphere of the economy?

[Yeltsin] No one in the Russian Federation Government is rejoicing over the temporary lack of opponents. People have not forgotten the times when the deputies' sound judgments and reasonable arguments served the good of the cause. V.F. Shumeyko himself, when he was still in the Supreme Soviet leadership, used to propose interesting ideas and sometimes sharply criticized particular government decisions. But everyone knew that this was a man who cared about the cause and who saw it as the common cause.

Unfortunately, the former Supreme Soviet overstepped the limits of constructive criticism a long time ago. Its stance became bellicose, intransigent, and destructive. In these conditions it was frankly impossible to conduct any kind of dialogue. Irrespective of its quality, any government decision, however minor, was given a hostile reception, and government policy was systematically obstructed literally throughout the system of soviets. This was dyarchy in action. It is well known that within the Supreme Soviet itself, much work was done, basically repressive work, to artificially ensure the dominance of this ruinous line. Ruinous not only for the reforms, but for the country's elementary survival.

At the same time I think that pending the election of the Federal Assembly, the Council of Ministers should refrain from taking any drastic, revolutionary steps in the economy. Without a proper parliament, this is really dangerous. Basically the government is operating on the basis of the decisions adopted prior to 21 September. Especially since its main policy priorities were defined long ago.

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! In the dispute with the government, the former parliament often used to assert that it was defending the interests of Russia's impoverished population. How will the problem of the poorly-off population strata be dealt with today, and will those strata widen, in your view, in the course of the reforms?

[Yeltsin] In general the claim that parliament defends the interests of any one section—however big—of the population demonstrates once again a complete failure to understand the function of parliament in a democratic state. A democratic parliament is an institution in which the interests of all population groups are collated. On that basis, by means of highly complex procedures, a political compromise is reached. This is necessary so that society remains stable and so that no single group feels it is suffering because nobody is defending its interests.

In fact the former Supreme Soviet was not even thinking about defending the interests of even one social group. It was exploiting those interests, and, it must be said, not without success. Bolshevik demagoguery seeks to hit the most vulnerable spots: justice, equality, well-being. Yet demagoguery is still demagoguery, first and foremost because it is not backed up by consideration for the objective laws of economics. By adopting various "kind-hearted" decisions, the deputies were only boosting inflation. That meant they were taking money out of the pockets of the poorest population strata most of all.

It goes without saying that the executive power also did not do everything possible to alleviate the burden borne by the poorly-off strata. But the necessary experience is gradually being accumulated. An awareness has developed that it is essential to introduce targeted socioeconomic shock absorbers. This is the narrow "tightrope" we are walking, trying not to delay the pace of reforms and at the same time not to bring about an increase in people's poverty. Although, I repeat, the balance is not always successfully maintained.

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! The events of late September and early October in Russia created an exceptionally complex situation in legal terms. How can the temptation to continue breaking the law be avoided, when the Constitution does not, in effect, exist, the Constitutional Court is not in operation, and doubt has been cast on legislation in general among the broad masses of the population?

[Yeltsin] I will tell you frankly, some people do indeed urge the president to overstep the law here and there. The reason is well known—departmental interests. To be frank, for them, right and the Law were an obstacle which they tried with all their might to overcome, and they are still trying.

Let me remind you, the well-known Edict No. 1400 states clearly that the measures being adopted are aimed exclusively at bringing about decisive progress in constitutional reform, and nothing else. The edict states frankly and unequivocally that the Constitution and legislation remain in force. That is a fundamental provision of the edict.

It is no secret that, taking advantage of the situation, certain political groupings, departments, and regional administrations are trying to bypass the law to solve their own corporate, departmental, or regional problems. There are plenty of examples of this.

That is why the Edict "On Legal Regulation in the Period of Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation" was issued on 7 October. In effect a barrier has been created in the path of deliberately unlawful decisions and unjustified amendments to the law. But the problem still remains. The forces I have mentioned are trying to solve their problems by means of presidential edicts.

I have therefore instructed my apparatus carefully to scrutinize all initiating proposals and draft edicts. To scrutinize them specifically to see that they comply with the general principles of the Constitution and the general principle of the primacy of man's natural rights.

Incidentally, this largely explains the tight schedule for the election campaign. A country which wants to be a democratic state cannot go on for long without a civilized parliament and other democratic institutions, such as a Constitutional Court. If I was not keenly aware of this, the entire logic of my decisions would be radically different.

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! Do you not consider it possible to lift the veil of secrecy that has formed around certain events of 3-4 October? What measures were taken to avert an armed clash?

Did you personally, or members of your apparatus, attempt to contact Rutskoy and Khasbulatov? How do you assess the activity of the militia, which suddenly disappeared from the streets of Moscow on Sunday evening? What was the position of the leaders of the Defense Ministry and Moscow Military District and the commanding officers of the formations? Were there no instances of insubordination to the government and the president on the part of various power structures? What cadre changes and reshuffles have been or will be carried out following these events?

[Yeltsin] An attentive observer who seeks to analyze the consistency of the president's actions will certainly see that on my part everything was done to avoid possible clashes of any kind, let alone armed confrontation.

Look at the actions of the leaders of the former parliament. Where, in what country, does political confrontation involve the stockpiling of a vast quantity of firearms? For what purpose? When the danger arose that these weapons would spread through Moscow, then the decision to stop these actions was made. I realize that of course the presence of several rings of armed men around the White House annoyed some people, including, of course, those who were in the White House. The need for this was dictated by just one thing: To prevent the spread of armed clashes outside that area.

I personally did not make any special attempts to make contact with the former vice president and former parliament speaker. This was because I know these people too well. I was convinced that I would not be able to reach an agreement with them. And how long was it worth going on trying? The experience of all the previous accords showed that after reaching agreement they would promptly go back on the compromise. I think many people will recall the well-known saying: "The devil is in it."

But staffers of the [president's] Administration and government leaders did of course have contacts with the people who were in the White House. Note that the presidential side proposed peaceful means of reaching a settlement. The opponents, as a rule, used to reject everything that our side proposed, dictating their own terms, and I mean dictating.

More and more details are now becoming known of the development of events according to the so-called "White House scenario." In particular, lists have been found of people who were to be arrested once the rebels had seized power. Incidentally, the composition of these lists very closely resembles the lists that were drawn up by the notorious SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] in August 1991. A large number of blank forms were found in the House of Soviets, printed in large numbers, where all you had to do was fill in the name and address of the person who was to be arrested. There were also plenty of xeroxed forms signed by Rutskoy, in effect giving the holder of the form emergency powers. You just fill in your name, and you become a so-called "plenipotentiary representative" of the so-called extraordinary congress. It is easy to guess what kind of "restoration" of democracy lay in store for us if events had developed according to that scenario. October 1917 would simply have been continued in our own day.

Subsequently, through the fault of representatives of the former parliament, the possibility of avoiding conflict through the mediation of the patriarch was wrecked, in effect.

At the moment it is hard for me to comment on your question about the militia, which you think suddenly disappeared from the streets of Moscow on Sunday evening. A major analysis of the events of those days is in progress, and every action and inaction is being examined thoroughly and in detail. I hope the truth will be reconstructed in full. But for all that, we must bear in mind that the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], the militia, and the internal troops bore the main burden of the work that had to be done to restore calm and order. Such events had not been seen before in the capital. At the very least, I do not know of any instances of mass refusals to carry out duty. Nor were there even any isolated instances of refusal on the part of MVD staffers during that period. If there were perhaps weak-willed people here and there, one can only express regret, and let the MVD leaders themselves deal with them.

I know of no instance of any of the leaders of the power structures or their subordinates disobeying an order. First, even before the edict came out, possible scenarios for the development of events were analyzed, and, of course, provision was made for appropriate measures. And the power ministers took part in this analysis. Second, the use of force on our side was allowed, as you know, only after groups of armed people had broken into the City Hall building and started a real battle at Ostankino. All the operations of the Defense ministry, the Security Ministry, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were carried out in the light of the developing situation.

In terms of personnel changes, there is only one thing I can say: The president's and government's policy of reforms in Russia will be maintained in accordance with the results of the referendum of 25 April this year. And it is in order to achieve these objectives that personnel changes have been and will be made. New tasks require new people.

[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA] Esteemed Mr. President! As Russian historical experience unfortunately shows, the introduction of censorship is rarely short-lived. There are fears among journalists that even after censorship is officially rescinded it will be carried out using other, indirect methods (economic, for example). Will the president continue to be the guarantor of freedom of speech and information in Russia?

[Yeltsin] So long as freedom of the press is maintained there is confidence that democracy too will survive. This is why the censorship temporarily introduced on the basis of the Law on a State of Emergency caused such disquiet. I see this as a good sign. We consider an uncensored press to be the natural condition for us. Censorship has long been alien to us.

On 20 March this year, if you remember, in two edicts specially devoted to the press and, in particular, radio and television, I took upon myself the role of guarantor of the freedom of mass information. I state that the law on mass information in Russia must and will be enforced in full. We will rectify any excesses by the enforcers [ispolniteli]. Freedom of the press is as important for me as it is for you and for all citizens of Russia.

Yeltsin Spokesman Calls For 'Strict Democracy'

PM1910140593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 2

[Article by Vyacheslav Kostikov, President Yeltsin's press spokesman: "Strict Democracy"]

[Text] These days many people are saying that Russian democracy has failed the test. There are plenty of formal reasons for this. You only have to look at the burned-out "White House" building, now half-black, to fall into the deepest melancholy. There are also other reasons, and virtually all the newspapers are mentioning them today.

Nonetheless, this seems a hasty opinion, and, moreover, a dangerous one. It arises partly from the inertia of Russian pessimism, partly from our pseudo-elitist TV chat shows, which reduce the audience to the narrow-minded level of the presenters themselves. By means of affected talk under the lights in the company of stylish guests, the glittering prize of popularity is acquired very rapidly and at very shameless rates of interest.

It has been and still is intensively dinned into us that Russia is supposedly a country where neither reform nor democracy is possible. Nihilism is historically fashionable in our country, it is part of our social and literary school. Of late it has become an essential part of political speculation. Banality on TV and in the newspapers and political "exhibitionism" are to be found in the most developed countries. Perhaps in Russia, with its simultaneous penchant for the mystical, the kitsch, and the crazy, these things assume particularly paradoxical forms truly worthy of the "Tretyakov Gallery." It is not these entirely natural human weaknesses that are distressing.

What is annoying is that serious people and respected publications are speaking about and pondering a crisis of Russian democracy.

In fact, in my view, one should ponder not the collapse of democracy in Russia, but something quite different. The artificial model of political democracy cobbled together in great haste from the wreckage and the new components that were on hand when the totalitarian system collapsed has broken down. The result was a strange surrealistic hodgepodge. Beautiful fragments of democratic innovation in the form of, for instance, the entirely liberal press law, which proved totally unfit to protect society from the fascist swinishness of some of our press, rubbed shoulders with the reinforced concrete blocks of the Soviet system. The fashionable, fragile Constitutional Court was installed next to the unshakable, sluggish systems of the "Soviet court" and the "Soviet prosecutor's office." Conceived as part of a system of checks and balances, the Constitutional Court found itself caught in the rigid cement of Soviet ideology and was unable at a difficult moment to act as a damper on social upheaval. It is not surprising that this democratic "rococo" was overwhelmed by the blocks of the Soviet system.

But the Soviet Constitution itself was the greatest absurdity to be found in the post-August democracy. It was the Constitution that caused all democratic building to list dangerously. As a result, after August 1991 we did not have a harmonious system of power but a political Tower of Babel that collapsed at the first tremors of an earthquake.

In fact it is necessary to build a new edifice of Russian democracy. It is important that this edifice not be a temporary hut or a mock triumphal arch with fake molding. In order to prevent this, the most important thing is perhaps not to use the old construction materials, which proved totally unfit for political "earthquakes." The old blocks of the Soviet system must not be used in the new edifice. It is not of course a question of eliminating elective democracy at the local level, but it is probably more fitting for local elected representatives to set about providing their rayons and oblasts with amenities rather than aspiring to make laws in contravention of Russia's general laws. I would like local elected representatives to be better known in the localities than in Moscow or on central television. The localities can have their own laws, but these laws, first, must not contravene Russia's legislation and, second, must not exceed the requirements of local self-government in the light of specific local factors.

At long last we must cross the "t's" and dot the "i's" regarding the rights of republics, krays, and oblasts. This is a painful subject. Some republic leaders have already gotten a taste for ritual and ceremony. There was plenty of asymmetry and blatant hypocrisy in relations between the center and the republic capitals from the very moment the USSR was proclaimed. If we want stability for the long term and not just for a while, we must stop deceiving one another. We cannot do without strict logic and a clear plan here. This logic may be unpleasant. Russia is a unified state and there cannot be other state formations on its territory. The United States of America acquired long-term stability only once the Constitution enshrined a rigid, clear plan for collaboration between the center and the states. The very possibility of republic or regional separatism must be clearly excluded from Russia's new constitution. While acknowledging local economic and cultural identity and initiative and local self-government, we must resolutely (I am not afraid of that word) suppress all manifestations of nationalism or political parochialism that entail various forms of territorial demarcation.

We will not take fright at the fact that certain formulas for Russia's administrative system are being heard from the lips of a number of leaders whose democratic integrity we have reason to doubt. It is not a question of the "lips" but of the ideas themselves. The stability, national accord, demographic prosperity, and economic integrity of prerevolutionary Russia was based on the principle of division into guberniyas. This was abolished by the bolsheviks, who created the totally false system of Soviet socialist republics. Let us not be mealymouthed. In the time of the USSR the country was effectively governed on the guberniya principle with the difference that the governors were republic, obkom [party oblast committee], and kraykom [party kray committee] first secretaries. The freest and most liberal plan for a market economy will not conflict at all with the historically proven practice of the Russian administrative system.

In Russian culture there is the concept of "strict literature." To a certain extent it identifies real, socially useful literature, albeit not classics, but professionally high-quality, intelligent works, from stereotyped works and so-called "beach literature." In order to perform its social function, democracy must also be strict and professional.

During the last few months before the October putsch the word "order" was almost the most frequently used word. The country was literally "crying out" for the authorities to ensure order. The word "order" alarms some of our prim intellectuals terribly. The authorities' big mistake was that they farmed out the concept of order to communists, fascists, and all sorts of pseudopatriots. Order, even rigid order, does not contravene democracy at all. For the bolsheviks and the Soviet authorities order was the Gulag, the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, "secret agents," the omnipotent Cheka, GPU, NKVD, and KGB. However, it was not citizens that were defended by this "order," nor the individual or people's property, but the power of the CPSU and those who embodied it.

A democratic Russia is inconceivable without firm order. The kind of order that exists in countries with a developed democracy, primarily in West Europe.

This order eschews arbitrariness, but rigidly and uncompromisingly ensures citizens' rights to protection in the home, on the streets, and on the highways. Hardly anyone doubts that France or Britain are democratic countries. But our citizens and our law-enforcement organs must also be aware of something else. If a drunk wanders the streets of Paris, London, or Stockholm, swearing and insulting passersby, within a few minutes he will find himself at a police station, where he will get quite a tough lesson in good behavior. In a normal European city if people hear a fight in their apartment block or see a street brawl or other acts of hooliganism out of their window, they will immediately call the nearest police station and a patrol will arrive in a few minutes. If a European wants to hold a late-night party in his apartment, he has to post notice of this at the entrance to the apartment block and inform the janitor. If he fails to do so, he may be in trouble. I do not know what happens in other cities, but in Paris, for instance, the "concierge" in every apartment block is obliged to notify the police if there are strangers in the block. No one sees this as informing or tale-telling. That is normal civilized procedure in Europe whereby citizens and the police ensure tranquillity and the law. Not to mention the fact that no one in civilized Europe would tolerate public calls to blockade a railroad, seize state establishments, or provocatively insult the president.

For centuries now Western Europe has had a free press and no censorship. Of course, during various demonstrations, antigovernment demonstrations included, pamphlets with very tough language are circulated, fascist pamphlets among them. But people there would not tolerate the regular, official existence of a blatantly fascist newspaper like DEN and its ilk. In any country that respects its freedom the tax police would have long since made inquiries as to how these publications are funded.

Of course, the West is less prey to political naivete and democratic romanticism. With rare exceptions, situations where the president or the head of government announces various measures and the general prosecutor, the interior minister, or local prefects hold a "dissenting opinion" are inconceivable. Has even the bloodshed of October 1993 failed to teach us something that people in the West have long since realized: Citizens must know the limits of permissible freedom, they must know that unbounded freedom is called anarchy and results in the destruction and discrediting of democracy.

Lastly a word about parties. Particularly ahead of the elections, we must frankly tell ourselves that we regrettably do not have a real multiparty system at the moment. The membership figures cited by numerous parties today are inflated 10-fold, if not 100-fold. There are several fairly rich party clubs with skillful habitues who love to call themselves party leaders and whose main task is to keep themselves afloat at any cost.

We really have just one fairly large, well organized party structure—the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which has inherited the experience, principles, and possibly some of the funds of the former CPSU. Today its activity has been suspended. If it is shown the "compassion" which bogus centrists are so fond of urging us to display, you can be sure that in the coming elections the bolsheviks will use their tried and tested demagogic slogans to get into parliament dozens of new Anpilovs and Makashovs, only in a new guise. In view of the mistakes of August 1991 we should perhaps remember more frequently Bismarck's well known, but regrettably highly topical statement that revolutions are prepared by geniuses and carried out by fanatics, but their fruits are enjoyed by scum.

We are already being frightened with the idea that we may end up with a monochrome democratic parliament as a result of the elections. Why should we be afraid of that? What is bad in that as long as it does not contain outright fascists or communists in centrists' clothing? In many free countries communist parties are content with the role of legal extraparliamentary opposition. What is more, the very nature of democracy means that a truly democratic parliament cannot be monochrome.

What is valuable is for the political collaboration between the president, the government, and the parliament to be not monochromatic, but synchronized, something that has been so lacking throughout these difficult months. This synchronism may finally create the badly needed state impetus, the powerful effort that will help drag Russia out of crisis. It is well known that two or even three locomotives are coupled to a heavily laden train on difficult sections of track with ascents and curves. That is precisely our situation. Russia is burdened with a heavy load of problems, ahead lies a difficult ascent, and the track is poorly maintained and slippery. Like war, tragedy cements a nation together, forcing it to cast aside trivialities and political whims. Today what we need is fewer disputes over the fine details and nuances of democracy, fewer TV benefit intrigues, and less hysteria in the newspapers.

Russia needs strict democracy.

Yeltsin's Team Seen Split Over 'Presidential Rule'

MK1910133093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Differences in the Kremlin. Radicals Overpower Lawyers"]

[Text] After the decisive step of the stage-by-stage constitutional reform—the military operation to eliminate the federal parliament and the virtual abolition of regional representative authorities—internal differences have flared up in the presidential team. According to reports received by KOMMERSANT-DAILY, the differences concern primarily the further tightening of presidential rule: in particular, an attempt to apply the experience of the state of emergency in Moscow to all of Russia. The presidential team, which in principle should have been particularly monolithic at this stage, has also been torn by differences with regard to the future of the Federation Council. The disagreements in the Kremlin (which have been confirmed also by the fact that most prominent figures from among executive branch chiefs attended the constituent congresses of different parties and political blocs) undoubtedly weaken the president and may lead to the most unexpected consequences.

What proved to be the most controversial issue in the presidential team was the legal foundation of the effort to eliminate the rebellion's effects. Some people in Boris Yeltsin's entourage believe that after abolishing the parliament, he should be guided in his lawmaking activity by the remains of Russian legislation. Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the State Legal Administration [SLA], is among those who advocate this view.

Aleksandr Kotenkov, who, owing to his post, has had a key role to play in providing legal support for the president's lawmaking activity, argued against supplanting the initial objectives of the stage-by-stage constitutional reform—which has been the case recently—where, disguised behind reasons of expediency, some people from Boris Yeltsin's entourage have attempted to push him to the introduction of authoritarian rule. Headed by Aleksandr Kotenkov, the SLA edited all the documents produced by the president's and the government's offices. It is the SLA and personally Aleksandr Kotenkov who can be credited for protecting the president from overly tough or ill-conceived steps bordering on provocation.

It is likely, however, that Aleksandr Kotenkov, an advocate of a soft stance, has been overpowered by the radicals in Boris Yeltsin's entourage, who stand for the principle of "revolutionary advisability" with regard to the legal foundation of presidential rule. At the latest meeting of the Security Council, Boris Yeltsin made public his decision to relieve Aleksandr Kotenkov of his duties as SLA chief.

Apparently, the SLA's new chief will be one of the former deputies. For this very reason, he will have to orient himself toward a stronger group in the president's entourage—that is, toward those same radicals, which will automatically reduce the administration to the role of a rubber stamp for edicts drawn up by someone from the president's inner circle.

At the same time, the dismissal of Kotenkov, who fully supported Boris Yeltsin at the initial stage of the constitutional reform, may trigger a mass exodus from the presidential retinue, sending on the move all who even slightly disagree with those who are gaining the upper hand in the presidential team. A whole group of the president's loyalists make no bones that they are no longer intent on placing their bets on Boris Yeltsin. It is these politicians who have already prepared a "reserve air field" in the form of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, which plans to transform itself into the governing party, not the presidential one, as was initially said.

More proof of the split in the Kremlin is the peculiar behavior of Sergey Shakhray. He denied rumors that emerged after the October events that he would resign owing to differences of views, primarily on the role the Federation Council has to play. He added, however, that he would run for the State Duma—which at that time meant an automatic resignation from the executive branch. Mr. Shakhray has so far stayed on, but the Federation Council can no longer be restored, at least because there are no chiefs of regional soviets around, while the radicals continue to exert pressure on the republics to make decisions on reforming the local representative branch. The advocates of tough measures do not appear to be inclined to return to the regions the important role they played during the existence of parliament. Meanwhile, Sergey Shakhray has always acted in a softer fashion, protesting the process of "republicanization," but at the same time trying to raise the republics to a more equal relationship with Moscow. Maybe the opportunities that the status of deputy prime minister opens up for him in the process of setting up his own party and conducting an election campaign are the only thing that keeps this authoritative legal student and experienced politician in the same team with the radicals.

New Deputy General Prosecutors Appointed

MK1910134093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 2

[Mikhail Shapiro report: "President Replaces the 'Second Echelon' of Prosecutor's Office Chiefs"]

[Text] The general prosecutor's office has become an agency where the most significant reshuffles took place recently. On 13 October, KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported on Vildan Uzbekov's appointment as deputy general prosecutor. On 15 October, the Russian president issued edicts appointing Vladimir Kravtsev, Eduard Denisov, Sabir Kekhlerov, and Ivan Zemlenushin as Russia's deputy general prosecutors. In addition, First Deputy General Prosecutor Yevgeniy Lisov was relieved of his duties by presidential edict.

The complete change of guard at the top of the general prosecutor's office is apparently attributable to the pro-parliament stance by the general prosecutor and his deputies, who were appointed by the presidium of the former Supreme Soviet. The dismissed First Deputy General Prosecutor Yevgeniy Lisov has until recently been the most prominent figure at the general prosecutor's office beside Valentin Stepankov. Lisov became well-known to the public as chief of the group investigating the case of the State of Emergency Committee and a coauthor of Valentin Stepankov's book "The Kremlin Plot."

The vigor displayed by the new general prosecutor, Aleksey Kazannik, in forming a new team points to the fact that the authorities are eager to bring together as fast as possible people holding pro-presidential views to head the general prosecutor's office.

Constitutional Assembly's Public Chamber Meets in Kremlin

Meeting Opens

LD1910114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0901 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—A meeting of the Public Chamber of the Russian Constitutional Assembly opened in the Kremlin today. St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, coordinator of the chamber, said that strict timelimits were set before its members, who are to finalise the draft of the new constitution. A joint meeting of the two parts of the Constitutional Assembly—the Public and the State chambers—is to be held on Saturday [30 October], two weeks from now.

The Public Chamber consists of 241 members, including 22 representatives from local self-government bodies, 98—from political parties and public movements, 54—from trade unions, 19—from religious confessions, and 48—from commodity producers and businessmen. One hundred and two members of the chamber were registered at the time when today's meeting began.

Democratic Party Walks Out

LD1910103593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0930 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Democratic Party of Russia, of which Nikolay Travkin is the chairman, left the meeting of the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Assembly on Tuesday [19 October] in protest against the president-proposed way of adopting a new constitution.

The party "disagrees with the adoption of the constitution of Russia by a method proposed by the executive authority", Secretary of the party Aleksey Bogdanov told TASS. He believes the new constitution is to be adopted by the new parliament. "Now the balance of political forces is unclear. It can be clarified only by elections (to parliament)", he said.

Sobchak Reviews Work

LD1910201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"We are having a business-like, constructive discussion," coordinator of the Public Chamber of the Russian Constitutional Assembly Anatoliy Sobchak, who is also St. Petersburg's mayor and member of the Presidential Council, said commenting on the chamber's meeting in Moscow today.

Speaking during a break in the session with journalists who were not allowed to attend the meeting, Sobchak said the chamber has heard a "number of interesting proposals", including on how to ensure a democratic atmosphere for the elections to the Russia's new legislature. This is particularly important because the country is now virtually finding itself "in specific conditions of the presidential rule".

Sobchak noted that passions "flare up" in the meeting from time to time, but said it was normal. Heated debate arose when discussing the possibility of combining posts in the government and the Federal Assembly.

Sobchak also said that "the rules for the election games" will be formulated in the president's decree. Work is now underway to identify "questions which have not yet been clearly determined". All the replies to such question must be given now, Sobchak stressed.

Sobchak Wants Draft Reassessed

LD1910184293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Yevgeniy Fateyev, including interview with Presidential Aide Sergey Stankevich by an unidentified correspondent; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Nelli Petkova] The question of the constitution may be among those that the people of Russia will decide upon on election day, 12 December. Anatoliy Sobchak, coordinator of the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Conference, believes that Russia's new draft constitution will be ready by 3 November.

[Fateyev] Anatoliy Sobchak wants to take a second look at the draft, taking into account recent events in Moscow, and is calling on other co-authors of the new constitution to do the same.

[Correspondent] Does this mean a major change in the constitution?

[Stankevich] I think it changes it to some extent. We should again understand the importance of this document, that promotes stability—first of all, how much the basic interests of the citizens of Russia should be taken into account, of all strata and territories. At the same time, there should be certain precautions, so that dead-end situations do not arise between the powers that be, or the kind of situation we had on 3-4 October.

[Correspondent] But this does not mean that the draft will have to be redrawn?

[Stankevich] No. It simply means that those clauses that promote stability, that settle conflicts, should be reinforced. But now the unique chance to adopt the constitution by referendum, by direct general election, and to bind Russia together allows us to progress within the framework of a clearly outlined constitution, through direct general elections, and in accordance with the rules of politics.

[Fateyev] Representatives of a number of parties did not approve of the presidential edict allowing the Cabinet of Ministers members to also take on the duties of State Duma deputies. There were various proposals—that a constitutional act for the transition period, and not the constitution itself, be presented on 12 December for the general election.

Shumeyko Discusses Draft Constitution

LD1910224693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1538 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—First Vice-Premier of the Russian Government Vladimir Shumeyko believes that the main task of the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Assembly is to "finalize a draft of the constitution before it is adopted at the referendum".

In Shumeyko's opinion, the referendum should be held mandatory and that the whole text of the draft constitution be put to the referendum. People's approval of the constitution, which outlines the state system, will make the Federal Assembly legitimate,“ Shumeyko said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS Shumeyko pointed out that he was attending today's session not as a vice-premier or a representative of some bloc taking part in election campaign, but as a coordinator of the faction of Entrepreneurs and Manufacturers of the Constitutional Assembly.

Shumeyko reminded of the fact that the coordinated text of the constitution at which the Constitutional Assembly had worked in summer, was forwarded to the subjects of the Federation.

However, Shumeyko said that he "was not sure whether conclusions made by local councils, in particular, those aimed against adopting the constitution, should be considered in full measure." But the working group of the Constitutional Assembly is studying all critical remarks in search for constructive proposals. "No other constitution drafts should be taken into consideration," Shumeyko said.

He believes that the simultaneous discussion at the Kremlin meeting of problems pertaining not only to the constitution, but to elections and the referendum is natural since these problems are closely connected.

Shumeyko expressed understanding of a proposal made during the meeting that "it would be expedient if the Upper House of the Federal Assembly equally divided seats between deputies working on a permanent and non-permanent basis," since this would ensure broader representation of opinions in the new parliament.

Theoretically, "it is possible that 30 members of the government will become members of the Federal Assembly, but it is yet unknown how many of them will be elected. Even if 10 members of the Federal Assembly work on a non-permanent basis, it will not affect it's work," Shumeyko said. He referred to the experience of other countries, where after the parliament is elected a new government is formed to include some parliament members.

Shumeyko believes it is reasonable to suspend for two months those members of the government who intend to run for elections to the Federal Assembly.

Shumeyko Comments on Withdrawals

LD1910171693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The diversity of opinion expressed at the Constitutional Conference is "only natural", Russian First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told ITAR-TASS here today, commenting on the withdrawal of representatives of the Russian Democratic Party and the Party of Constitutional Democrats from today's meeting of the Constitutional Conference's Public Chamber.

The chamber is a consultative group of representatives of public associations and movements entrusted with drafting proposals for the new constitution.

"This is their private affair," said the official. Shumeyko noted each party is free to attend the Constitutional Conference.

"We will adopt the new constitution even without members of the parties that withdrew from the chamber's meeting," he said. In the words of Shumeyko, the forum is attended by representatives of all other parties and movements.

According to Secretary of the Russian Democratic Party Andrey Bogdanov, the party's representatives withdrew from the meeting due to their disagreement with the fact the constitution is put on referendum by the executive power. In his opinion, "the disposition of political forces is now unclear and it will clarified only by the elections of the Federal Assembly".

The party representatives also does not agree with the idea of combining posts in legislative and executive power bodies.

Free Democratic Party Leader Comments

LD1910225393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1611 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"Presidential rule has been introduced de jure in Russia, and this process should be carried through," co-chairman of the Free Democratic Party of Russia Marina Salye told ITAR-TASS here today.

Salye, who attended today's meeting of the Public Chamber of the Russian Constitutional Conference, said in this period the state must primarily guarantee human rights. This can be done through the nationwide validity of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights to be introduced by a presidential decree.

In the opinion of Salye, there was another way out of the political crisis before October, 1993. "Now there is no other way, and one should speak outloud about forms of the presidential rule".

Another step in this sphere should be the putting on referendum of constitutional acts of the transitional period instead of the constitution. The elections of the Federal Assembly should be postponed with due account of the referendum results, said Salye. In her opinion, Russia should be turned into "a presidential republic".

Russian Conservative Party leader Lev Ubozhko agrees with Salye. He said society is not ready for the elections of a new parliament, and the stand of democrats has not been clarified. In his opinion, ex-Communists will grab parliament deputy mandates, especially in Russian provinces.

Status of Ministers Debated

LD1910172593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The public chamber of the constitutional assembly bitterly criticized President Yeltsin's decree allowing Russian ministers to run for seats in the state duma (the lower chamber of a fresh parliament).

The chamber is a consulative group of representatives of public associations and movements entrusted with drafting proposals for the new constitution and discussing other matters of state importance.

Commenting on the results of the Tuesday [19 October] meeting of the chamber, its coordinator, St. Petersburg's Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, told ITAR- TASS that although officials with two hats were acceptable in some other states, in Russia the situation is becoming preposterous. "the whole government is now racing to get nominated and elected to the legislature. The ministers have rushed to join blocs with political platforms which are not only different but at times oppositional to the present government", he said.

Sobchak is convinced that "they (ministers) will fight each other incapacitating the government. Viktor Chernomyrdin (the prime minister) should better bring them back to their senses or else he will have to recruit a new Cabinet".

According to the coordinator, Yeltsins' other decisions got a largely positive response at the meeting. The chamber agreed that the federal parliamentary elections should be held on December 12 as should a referendum on a new constitution.

Session Not Proceeding 'Smoothly'

LD1910204493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer Tatyana Komarova] Today a Constitutional Conference Public Chamber session was held in the Kremlin. According to reports from ITAR-TASS, not everything went smoothly. Representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia left the session in protest against the idea of Russia's Constitution being adopted according to the methods proposed by the executive powers.

[Correspondent Yevgeniy Fateyev] The participants in the Constitutional Conference Public Chamber who are meeting in the Kremlin were called upon to take a second look at our draft new constitution today, taking into account recent events in Moscow. [passage omitted]

[V.M. Lysenko, Co-Chairman of Russia's Republican Party] I think the version we had will probably still be the best one. So if we now have a shift to the president's executive side we will simply end up with a total puppet parliament incapable of handling the most important tasks—legislation and control functions, which Russia needs today. [passage omitted]

[Fateyev] Has today's session brought you any closer to a final, single version of the text of the constitution, or simply to more disagreement?

[A. Sobchak, Coordinator of the Constitutional Conference Public Chamber] Disagreements are inevitable, you understand. We still have time, until the end of October, to carry out separate sessions, followed by sessions jointly with the state chamber, and then to present our recommendations to the president.

Poll Finds More Backing for New Constitution

MK1910113493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 17 Oct 93 p 2

[O. Savelyev report: "Russians on the Adoption of a New Constitution"]

[Text] In mid-September 1993 the All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center conducted a survey based on a sample of 1,600 residents of Russia proportionately representing the main sociodemographic groups of the Federation's adult population by sex, age, education, geography, and type of residential settlement.

The distribution of answers to one of the questions in the survey—"Do you think a new Russian Constitution should be adopted as soon as possible, or is there no need to hurry in adopting it?"—is given in percentages together with the answers to the same questions obtained in the course of similar polls conducted by the center earlier this year.

	May	June	August	September
Must be adopted as soon as possible	41	35	37	46
There is no need to hurry	27	35	30	26
Not sure	32	30	33	28

The idea of the earliest possible adoption of a new Russian Fundamental Law is favored relatively most often by enterprise directors, qualified specialists, entrepreneurs pursuing their own business or engaged in individual labor activity, and blue collar workers as well as generally by people between the ages of 40 to 55 with a monthly income of between 30,000 and 100,000 rubles per family member and living in large cities.

The idea that there is no need to hurry in adopting a new constitution is supported relatively more often by mid-level managers, pensioners, and white collar workers as well as by people over age 55 in general.

Burbulis Assesses Causes, Aftermath of 'Putsch'

PM1910145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis by Leonid Radzikhovskiy, date and place not given: "The Death Throes of the Nomenklatura Are Fraught With Convulsions: How to Avoid a Third Putsch"]

[Text] [Radzikhovskiy] Gennadiy Eduardovich, they say that you played a very important role during the October putsch and greatly helped to bring it to an end?

[Burbulis] I played the same role as tens of thousands of Muscovites and other Russians. Now it transpires that no one supported the putsch apart from those who are in Lefortovo jail right now and that everyone else was opposed to it. So let us not take the bread out of the mouths of the historians and fiction writers.

[Radzikhovskiy] Then let me ask you a more serious question. What were the general political and social causes of the putsch? It is ludicrous to reduce it all simply to the ambitions of Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, and their ilk. Anyway, this was not the first putsch, only recently we were contemplating the second anniversary of the August Revolution. On that occasion you and I wrote an article about the peaceful course of the reforms and the peaceful course of our "revolutionary evolution." Unfortunately, a red line has been drawn under that peaceful course. What is this? Has a "geological process" become active again? Has a dormant volcano become active again? Is the wheel of blood rolling over Russia again?

[Burbulis] These events cannot be viewed in isolation. Let us compare them with August 1991. Let us look at the list of putschists in terms of the offices that they held: the vice president, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the minister of state security, the minister of the interior (in August) and the first deputy minister (in September)... September is not far from August, is it? Furthermore, the ideologists of the plot coincide in their styles of speech.

[Radzikhovskiy] You mentioned the posts of the plotters. They were all hand picked by the presidents—in the first case Gorbachev, in the second, Yeltsin. Were these fatal personnel blunders?

[Burbulis] It is not a question of blunders. A system which is disintegrating desperately resists reforms. What keeps the system going is a great army of functionaries connected by a single organizational structure, corporate relations, and a certain ideology. The top people are to a certain extent inevitably hostages to the system. Unless you have a well thought out, tried and tested strategy as a basis you will inevitably drift toward the "temptations" of that system. But the system is guided by one thing—the interests of survival itself. That is what happened with Rutskoy—as a politician he is a complete outsider and helpless. When he found himself in one of the top posts in the system he easily accepted its general ideology, enclosed, as ever, in the bright wrapping of populism and national vainglory. He entered the existing system as a cog—and immediately began turning according to the laws of that system.

[Radzikhovskiy] Are you talking about the unreformed political system which we inherited from the "CPSU state"?

[Burbulis] Yes, of course. The traditional, orthodox system of the CPSU died sometime in the mid-eighties. Gorbachev simply committed the corpse to the earth. Since that time everything has been done in the interests of the "bourgeoisified" nomenklatura of the CPSU. When the interests of that nomenklatura sharply conflict with the line of the reforms, that is when you get a putsch.

[Radzikhovskiy] Another putsch.

[Burbulis] Yes, another attempt by the nomenklatura to hold onto power and property and preserve the semi-feudal character of our economy and sociopolitical life.

In August 1991 people spoke about the quite weak Union nomenklatura. What was its weakness? Its weakness consisted in the fact that the majority of the nomenklatura believed at that time that they could slip neatly into the reforms, adapt to them perfectly, and get rich from them. The nomenklatura—the military, state security, military-industrial, and Komsomol-party nomenklatura—had no real purpose then, they risked everything in an attempt to reverse or wreck the course of the reforms. That is why the putsch turned out so pale, weak, and anaemic then. The majority of the nomenklatura then tried to find a place in the new state-commercial structures. They discarded the empty shell of the CPSU and hurriedly got down to "business"—namely, their nomenklatura form of privatization.

[Radzikhovskiy] But were their desires not satisfied? Did the course of the reforms not bring a significant section of the former nomenklatura vast wealth and the preservation of power?

[Burbulis] On the whole, no. Our reforms are deeply contradictory. When people speak about the president's weakness and mistakes—namely, that in August he retained almost all the leaders of the KGB or the local leadership in the top posts and now, they say, the same "fatal mistake" is being repeated—I am always surprised at the naivety of such arguments. This is not a mistake—it is a conscious line toward compromise with the former elite, a conscious line toward the peaceful, evolutionary development of the former nomenklatura into a new formation, a new system. Had it not been for that compromise we would have had a completely different situation—either we would have moved far more radically along the path of reforms or else a real civil war would have begun, inspired by a nomenklatura driven into a corner.

[Radzikhovskiy] If compromise triumphs and if the communist nomenklatura "develops peacefully" into capitalism, I repeat my question: What is the social cause of "putsch number 2"?

[Burbulis] It is the same cause: the reform. Compromise, yes, evolution, yes. But the further you go along the path of reform, so ever greater detachments of yesterday's nomenklatura tear themselves apart and lose power and property. This does not happen overnight or to order but gradually and according to the most remorseless laws in the world—the laws of the market. Perhaps a grotesque market but a market nonetheless.

The crucial factor here, of course, is privatization. They launched the putsch when it was already too late, of course—when privatization had assumed an irreversible character and when a significant proportion of property had already changed owners. The bankruptcy of enterprises and financial stabilization were just around the corner. Let us unravel the political meaning of these seemingly purely economic phenomena. The bankruptcy of enterprises means the bankruptcy of their directors, the erosion of the "directors' corps," and the beginning of the replacement of the captains of the administrative economy. Financial stabilization means the stabilization of Yeltsin's course and the stabilization of the reformist government.

After that "quantity changes to quality"—the stream of reforms has slowly gained strength and suddenly breaks its banks and overflows. Whereas in 1988-1989 it was the first echelon of the new economic and political elite which arrived (the first cooperators, the first deputies)—the echelon which is leading today, too—now, in 1993-1994, a second echelon should arrive: the managers of investment funds, the new generation of deputies, brought to life by the new elections. The old elite (in alliance with a part of the new one—those same "turncoat democrats" of the class of 1990) resorted to extreme measures so as to prevent such a development of events.

[Radzikhovskiy] They lost a second time. What development of events is in store for us now?

[Burbulis] Generally speaking there are no winners in these events at the moment. There must be an accelerated replacement of the ruling elite and, correspondigly, an acceleration of the reforms. Putsch number one saw the downfall of the CPSU, putsch number two the downfall of the Soviets. Politics, however, very often produces illogical and paradoxical results.

The executive, which might well be rather the repository of authoritarian functions, defended democracy, whereas the legislature, which according to its functions should be a bulwark of democracy, acted against it. But the situation could change now...

[Text] There is a massive new compromise with the nomenklatura going on now. There is an active migration of intransigent deputies into the structures of the executive. What will they bring with them here? There could be a harmonious fusion: The authoritarian spirit of the former Supreme Soviet will merge with the structures of the executive. Then the paradox disappears: A power which is authoritarian in function will finally be imbued with an authoritarian spirit. That would be most regrettable.

That is why parliament—the new parliament—will now be of crucial significance. Bearing in mind our bitter experience it may be said that if the majority there belongs to people of a democratic frame of mind we will finally get a normal power structure. The legislative organ, both in terms of its function and spirit, is both the repository and defender of democracy while the executive creates the necessary hard outer casing of power.

With this natural balance of political forces and this system of counterweights the political system would be "rendered safe." Such a power system would no longer contain putsches as a means of resolving the accumulated political contradictions. For that finally we need a parliament which understands that a parliament and a putsch are two incompatible things.

[Radzikhovskiy] Parliament will understand that, but in that case should we not fear a putsch from an executive which has become too strong?

[Burbulis] No. The president has demonstrated many times that this is alien both to his character and his convictions. This is a fact which will be contested only by those people who are obsessed with "Yeltsin-phobia."

Of course it is not just a question of the personality of one man. The executive power structures today are socially based on and oriented toward a class that is growing fast and getting rich quick, a class that perhaps has not fully grasped the spirit of a civil society (how can you grasp something which does not exist yet?), but in any event one that is trying to get as far away from the totalitarian past as possible. This class does not need force, indeed force is dangerous to it. It may resort to force but only in retaliation.

This class, this social group has support among fairly broad strata of the population, especially among the young. You can call these strata whatever you like, you can talk (not without justification) about the criminal elements widely represented there, but a putsch and dictatorship are of no use to them at all. Dictatorship is the weapon of the weak, those who are losing power and understand that you cannot hold onto power any other way (you cannot hold onto power by means of force either but they do not understand that).

The remnants of the old nomenklatura are the section of society that wants dictatorship, the dregs of society are the ones who carry it out, while the nationalists and fascists are its ideologists. These three categories of political and social marginalized elements must be forced out of the political arena—then there will be no third putsch. The time for compromise with that nomenklatura which does not fit in with the reforms at all has gone—today these people no longer have the strength that they had back in 1991. Today their only source of strength comes from unnecessary compromises and unnecessary retreats on the part of the president's side. These compromises are pointless and have no moral justification. If they are stopped the ground will be cut from under the feet of the potential putschists.

No, it is not a putsch that we should fear from today's executive but quite the opposite—a resistance to the putschists that is too feeble. We should also consider the "Gorbachev syndrome." Pardon the pun but while Gorbachev was befuddling [zagovarival] the country with his verbosity, in the shadow of his speeches real plots [zagovor] were being hatched...

[Radzikhovskiy] Speaking about politics, so far you have been examining only the conduct of the nomenklatura. Is it really the only political driving force in our country?

[Burbulis] This is quite a complex question. After all, you and I are talking not about politics in general but about its extreme forms. What did they say about war? That it is the continuation of politics by other means. A mutiny, of course, is also a continuation of politics by other means but these are means which destroy normal politics and transform them into banditry.

It is here, in this "transformed," distorted politics that the nomenklatura, its most aggressive and revanchist section, is the most active force. It pays the piper and it calls the tune.

[Radzikhovskiy] Do you think that it is only mercenaries [nayemnyye ispolniteli] who are active in these events?

[Burbulis] Of course not. There are many utterly disinterested participants, perhaps they even form the majority in those crowds of "defenders of the White House." People whom the nomenklatura itself exploited shamelessly, whom they always despised and continue to despise..

[Radzikhovskiy] They call them "cattle" and "cannon fodder"...

[Burbulis] Yes... They always wiped their feet on those people whom they used. The democratic politician struggles against such people but to call them "cattle"... No, this is the privilege of the "patriots" among the nomenklatura. Millions of people have lost out really badly in their already semi-impoverished life. Millions have lost their life's goals and values. They were the ones who formed the social base to which the putschists appealed.

[Radzikhovskiy] Those people should have disowned parliament of course.

[Burbulis] As they did with Khasbulatov. Some still respected Rutskoy, at least until he he showed that he was an irresponsible coward, but it is not a question of individuals.

The most important thing for me was this: It would seem that the putschists did have a social base. Millions could not have marched "for" parliament but only "against" the authorities. They could have but did not! To be honest the putschists, despite all our follies, did not have social support. A social base, it would seem, did exist, but a real and effective form of support did not, neither in Moscow nor throughout Russia.

[Radzikhovskiy] Speaking about "our" follies, do you mean the democratic authorities? You have not been in government for a year now.

[Burbulis] So what? First, there are convictions, there is a standpoint, second, in my place it is dishonorable to separate myself from power, no matter how much some wanted to do, or divest myself of all responsibility. Anyway, these are my authorities just as they are yours, is that not so?

[Radzikhovskiy] Yes, even if they themselves do not think so.

[Burbulis] Precisely. So to return to your theme: Even those who for social reasons might have supported the putschists did not really follow them.

[Radzikhovskiy] Fear of civil war?

[Burbulis] Yes, a wise, life-saving fear. It is that fear which is the guarantee that there will be no war. Even though this fear has its downside, its dangers.

[Radzikhovskiy] We journalists have become so accustomed to be moved by this apoliticalness, this "benign tiredness"...

[Burbulis] I partly agree with you, but the danger is simply that a strong adventurist might not meet with resistance from the great mass of tired people.

[Radzikhovskiy] What about those who went to the Moscow city soviet?

[Burbulis] All hopes are pinned on them, on that incipient middle class. When it becomes fairly powerful and cohesive we will have a stable civil society and there will be a confidence that the "third putsch" is doomed. Today that middle class has still not fully realized itself politically. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that the forthcoming elections are of exceptional and historic significance. They will really determine Russia's path and destiny.

Golushko Reports on Ministry's Actions During Crisis

PM1910160993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Oct 93 p 2

[Boris Sopelnyak report: "Lies, Damned Lies, and... Statistics"]

[Text] The words cited in the headline were uttered fairly frequently at a briefing held in the Russian Ministry of Security yesterday.

"As has now become known," Russian Security Minister N.M. Golushko said, "the so-called power ministers of the White House, and there is simply no other name for them, as their power only extended to those who were within the walls of this building, repeatedly deluded both the people's deputies and the Supreme Soviet leadership. For example, Barannikov claimed that almost 7,000 employees of our department were on his side, but in actual fact, no matter how many telephone calls he made to people at home, he only managed to gather 18 people, pensioners at that, and, what's more, they were paid 2.5 million rubles [R]. Achalov claimed the same thing. Paratroop regiments and even divisions are approaching Moscow, he assured, and with their help we will take both the Kremlin and Moscow. As it turned out, not one unit, not one subunit supported the rebels. Dunayev also gave assurances that the Special Purpose Militia Detachments [OMON] would follow him through thick and thin. As you know, no one followed him. After all, it was on this lie that both Rutskoy's and Khasbulatov's extremist decisions were based."

The journalists naturally expressed a certain bewilderment in connection with this formulation of the issue: If there were no serious forces on the rebels' side, then how could they have seized the city hall, the Civil Defense Staff building, and the State Customs Committee building, and even resolved to storm "Ostankino"?

"Again this was all a question of lies," S.V. Stepashin, first deputy minister of security, answered. "I went three times to the already isolated White House, and some of our other colleagues went there. We knew which forces were at the disposal of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov, and where they were concentrated, we knew about the cellars and the underground passages, but... I knew these people well, I myself went to sessions in the Supreme Soviet for many a year, and I did not believe that they would decide to use weapons. They also assured me that weapons would not be used under any circumstances. Our main task was to prevent bloodshed. Alas, we miscalculated."

"Were there any 'conscientious objectors' among your employees, in other words, people who refused to participate in putting down the mutiny?"

"In order not to put people into an awkward position, we announced that every officer could stand to one side, if you can put it like that, and they were even allowed to take leave or take a certificate sending them for treatment. I did not find any applications on my desk," N.M. Golushko stated with satisfaction. "Later, at the height of the fighting, many of our employees were wounded, but they behaved courageously and steadfastly. A few days ago four of them were awarded orders 'For Personal Bravery' and another four with medals 'For Courage.'

"I would like to place the emphasis on one fundamentally important idea," S.V. Stepashin added. "Though we are speaking of courage, steadfastness, and awards, it must not be thought under any circumstances that someone has won a victory over someone else. There can be no question of any victory! We have suffered a tragedy, blood was shed, people died, but there would have been immeasurably more blood and victims if it had not been for the people who opposed the bandits who were armed to the teeth. And not only that. Many people automatically compare our ministry with the former KGB and consider us to be just as all-powerful. However, we do not have a single military formation that would be able to storm the White House, for instance."

Nor did the journalists skirt around the rumors that are being whipped up in all kinds of bodies about the negative role of certain commercial structures.

"Yes," the minister admitted, "we do have these facts at our disposal. But since an investigation is going on, I will only say one thing: Many of them banked on Rutskoy and Khasbulatov and invested many billions of rubles in them. Only one of them, one Shashurin, a businessmen from Kazan with a previous conviction, became Rutskoy's right-hand man, having embezzled R2 billion on the basis of a counterfeit advice note. This operator, together with his thugs, was arrested, as were numerous criminals and drug addicts who, instead of receipts for the weapons with which they had been issued, left their passports with the relevant endorsements in them in the White House. So that the criminal veneer on this whole story is obvious, and the 'fighters for the idea' cannot deny it."

"What about stations, airports, and embassies—was there a threat that they would be taken?"

"Yes, there was, but we adopted the relevant measures in time. In this connection I even received a letter from U.S. Ambassador in Moscow Thomas Pickering, who thanks us for timely information and reliable protection."

And so: lies, or more precisely, false information. That is what lies at the heart of many tragedies that mankind has suffered. Evidently the structure of the Ministry of Security is there to ensure that such lies do not become a habitual, meaningless statistic. It would be a good thing if information was always ahead of events and influenced the adoption of truly wise decisions rather than hasty ones.

Working Group To Assess Militia Performance

PM2010103193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 First Edition p 7

[Vadim Belykh report: "Ministry of Internal Affairs Has Decided To Conduct an Analysis of October Rebellion"]

[Text] A working group has been set up in the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs to assess the actions taken by the Moscow militia during the recent sad events. The group comprises 12 experts headed by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Alekseyev, chief of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy.

According to Alekseyev, his subordinates are now engaged in collating reliable information about the work carried out by subunits of the capital's internal affairs organs 3-4 October. The difficulty is that in situations such as these some militia chiefs usually try to submit vague and triumphant reports instead of detailed accounts.

It is still too early to draw any conclusions, but many of them, in the opinion of the chief of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy, can easily be guessed in advance. In all probability the question of the poor standard of technical equipment available to officers of the internal affairs organs will be raised again. Such as the lack of special means to combat mass disorders, for example disabling measures that produce "disorienting" light and sound effects. And even the methods that are familiar to them remain practically unused. Take liquid soap, for example. When this is poured on asphalt, a heavy KamAZ truck can no longer be used as a battering ram against ranks of militiamen (which is what happened)—the truck "flounders around" and the crowd slips up, thus losing its momentum.

The tactical side is still weak. The officers of law and order employ straightforward confrontational methods which ultimately have bloody results. Not like Western police forces which make use of specialist "negotiators." For some reason in our country we believe that an excited crowd has to be persuaded to disperse by a man with stripes down the side of his pants. Temperament, oratory, and psychological preparation do not enter the equation....

Then, of course, there is the shaky level of skill of ordinary militiamen. In this instance the experts' opinion is unanimous: "We must train them up...."

We can only guess what conclusions the Ministry of Internal Affairs specialists will reach in the final analysis. Let us remind readers that a similar commission investigating the events of 1 May confined itself to a fairly vague and not very instructive memorandum.

Casualties From 3-4 Oct Events Noted

LD1910233593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Another three of those wounded in the October 3-4 events in Moscow have died over the last 24 hours, bringing the total number of victims to 142, while 9 bodies remain unindentified, the city's Main Medical Department head, Igor Nadezhdin, told Interfax today.

Meanwhile, the Moscow Ambulance Center said that 133 persons were killed on October 3-4, without taking into account those in the hospitals of the defense and interior ministries.

The Russian Health Care Ministry told Interfax earlier that 11 servicemen, including 6 soldiers and 5 policemen, were killed in the clashes. Therefore, the total number of victims of October 3-4 is 144 persons.

Out of 756 civilians injured during the uprising, 123 stay in the city's hospitals, the Moscow Ambulance Center said, while 3 remain in intensive care. One of them is still unindentified, since he has been unconcious for over two weeks and carries no documents.

Officials Cited on Clearance, Repair of White House

PM1910151793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 2

[Sergey Nikitin article: "Cost of Repairing the 'White House'—90 Billion"]

[Text] Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Commission on Transferring the Affairs of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and Arkadiy Baskayev, military commandant of the White House and commander of Russian Federation Internal Troops, have summed up the first stage of joint activity.

The mass media are continuing to make various assumptions about the number of casualties among the defenders of the House of Soviets. Major General Baskayev has called them absolute lies: According to him, on 4 and 5 October 40 dead and injured were carried out of the former parliament building.

The military commandant was forced to admit that some of the weapons disappeared from the White House. The trophies which his subordinates managed to discover were 900 guns, approximately 100 mines, a grenade launcher, 300 kg of trinitrotoluene, 50 grenades, and a home-made flame thrower. According to Internal Affairs Ministry data, however, before the start of the bloody carnage the rebels had approximately 2,000 assault rifles, more than 2,000 pistols, 18 machine guns, 12 grenade launchers, and even a Strela "surface-to-air" missile. It is most likely that the huge arsenal was successfully taken out along underground lines of communication, which have so far been investigated only within a radius of 1.5 km. In Baskayev's opinion, a full study of the underground labyrinths and caves would require an entire division of sappers.

Aleksandr Pochinok estimated the cost of the damage inflicted on Europe's largest administrative building at approximately 90 billion rubles [R]. According to him, today only the government can afford to carry out the necessary reconstruction work. The Main Administration for Special Construction Work, the Moscow State Construction and Installation Trust, and more than 100 other construction organizations have already tackled the job. Foreign firms are vying with one another to offer their services.

Aleksandr Pochinok spoke about the first steps of the commission which he heads. It has not yet been possible to discover the former parliament's secret bank accounts as the result of a check, but R170 million, in all, has been confiscated from the parliamentary cash office. Although the Central Bank let the rebels have R348 million just through the accounts of the Administration for Protecting Installations of Top Organs of State Power and Management. It has already been proved that many payments were made on the instructions of the ex-speaker in violation of his powers. The fate of the money is being ascertained.

Thanks to the conscientiousness of servicemen in crimson shoulder boards and dappled berets, looters were caught, and the people's property, still intact after the tank barrage, was saved. Pochinok read out an entire list of preserved office equipment, furniture, crockery, and other valuables which now feature on the government's balance sheet. The rich parliamentary archive was also saved. Among other secret documents removed from the "White House" Aleksandr Petrovich named (with a crafty smile) papers relating to the scandalously celebrated "Vozrozhdeniye" Fund. The pictures by the artist Ovechkin, which were being exhibited in the House of Soviets, have been sent to Grabar to be restored: They all have bullet holes in them.

As is known, the president has promised to take care of the former people's deputies who displayed loyalty in good time: Each one is to be given an allowance equal to his annual wage, found employment, presented with the official living space he occupies, etc. Up to 3 October there were 170 such people (in all, 384 deputies worked permanently in the White House). After the well-known events, however, practically all the defenders of Soviet parliamentarianism headed by the not unknown Baburin, Syrovatko, Rumyantsev, and Kornilova stood in line for benefits as if nothing had happened.

There were also examples of quite a different kind, however: A number of former parliamentarians preferred to refuse their millions. Thus, S. Yushenkov transferred the money to the fund to help journalists who suffered, ex-Deputies V. Klyuvgant, S. Krasavchenko, A. Kulakovskiy, and V. Ispravnikov to the fund to help victims, and Pochinok himself to the fund to help the families of those who died in the October events.

Aleksandr Pochinok admitted that he will run for the State Duma from the 185th Magnitogorsk District and hopes for support from the "Russia's Choice" movement.

Government To Begin Moving In 1 Jan

LD1910142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0850 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"The Government of Russia will begin working in the former building of the parliament as of January 1, 1994," head of the apparatus of the Russian Council of Ministers Vladimir Kvasov told ITAR-TASS today.

"I believe the day is not far off when the former parliament building will again be called the government house of the Russian Federation," he stated, adding that the building was proclaimed as the official residence of the Russian Council of Ministers by a recent presidential decree. According to Kvasov, there is still no final decision on the future use of the bloc of government buildings on Staraya square. "I presume they will house the federal assembly," he stated.

"Extensive repairs are to be carried out in the former parliament building after the events of October 3-4," Kvasov stated. "The Government of Russia," he added, "has adopted a decision on all the necessary repair jobs and their financing. Most heavily damaged is the highest part of the building, mainly beginning from the 15th storey. The damages are slight in the 6-floor part of the building. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, his deputies, and many officials from the government's apparatus will move first into this part of the building."

According to Kvasov, all the rubble and smashed glass have already been cleared from this part of the building, and the furniture has been moved out of it. This means that the 6-storey section is ready for repairs. "The undamaged window frames have already been glassed, the central heating restored, and a canteen is ready to cater to the repair teams," he said.

Kvasov believes that the repair of the 6-storey section of the building will be completed already by the new year, while the higher part—by March-April.

'Collapse' of Constitutional Court Traced

PM1910120593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Oct 93 pp 1-2

[Article by Boris Vladimirov: "Zorkin Was Issuing Weapons"]

[Text] The fate of the first Constitutional Court in Russia is truly tragic. The legal power, logically the most stable of all branches of power, has rapidly become degraded.

One can say that this organ was ahead of its time, that under the conditions of the unprecedentedy fierce confrontation between the executive and representative federal powers the role of the Constitutional Court should inevitably have been reduced to direct participation in the political struggle. In this struggle the Constitutional Court was obliged to take someone's side. But was it obliged to do so?

Of course, there was no unanimity among the judges. So there was a split in the court along political lines, although just one thing was required of the court members—to adhere strictly to the letter and spirit of the law, including the procedures defined by the law on the Constitutional Court. For that some judges lacked... What? Strength, restraint, legal and political culture, conscience?..

So perhaps it was not the actual institution of the Constitutional Court which was ahead of its time (rather, it was behind the times) but some judges were, to put it mildly, unprepared to fulfill a lofty and responsible mission?

The split in the Constitutional Court and its gradual degradation, caused by the sole fact that the court chairman adopted the position of "peacemaker" and later, having abandoned that position, began to flirt with the representational power, began back at the time of the "CPSU case." Some court members did not even trouble to conceal their political preferences. Judge Luchin gathered together at his dacha representatives of the side which defended the CPSU's interests, visited the Russian Federation Communist Party restoration congress, and regularly wrote in PRAVDA. In the Constitutional Court offices his staffers arranged consultations for the communist side in working hours during the trial itself.

V. Zorkin's increasingly marked good will toward representatives of the CPSU surprised observers. These people's endless political shouting and propagandist tricks were not halted by the chairman. It was thought this was because of lack of experience (among the constitutional judges there is not one professional judge), but it turned out to be through conviction. On the other hand the president's side was kept "under wraps." Matters reached the point where judge Vedernikov (a professor and doctor of juridical sciences) called lawyer A. Makarov "insolent" for all to hear. There was silence from the chairman. On the other hand after Makarov's evening speech on television mentioning this episode Zorkin fined him the next morning for "disrespect toward the court."

Compromise solutions for a while made it possible to reconcile the judges' different views. But only until compromise was taken to absurd lengths. According to court member Kononov, "compromise in decisions went ever deeper, sometimes so deep that even the judges themselves could not understand what kind of decision we had actually made."

What is the cost to the country of these compromises? The court did not deem the primary communist cells at people's places of residence to be unconstitutional. Although everyone knows that it was these first CPSU "tentacles" which predetermined the question of trips abroad for pensioners (issuing character references), influenced the solution of housing matters, and controlled the selection of cadres for housing departments, housing management boards, and house management committees. That is they did locally what the CPSU had done on the scale of the country—the arrogated the functions of the state organs.

The dissenting opinions of a number of judges looked very convincing against this background. And for one simple reason: They were based on the principles of the law. We cannot fail to note that even before that numerous procedural violations had begun. The motivational part of the decision on "the CPSU case" was not only not made public within the two-week period stipulated by law, its publication was delayed for two to three months. Quite a lot of court decisions were made with eight or nine judges while according to the law a quorum of two thirds of the Constitutional Court members (10 men) had the right to do so. Moreover, the Constitutional Court adopted a "regulation rule," arbitrarily reducing its quorum by one third compared with the quorum stipulated by law.

By the spring the atmosphere of division had moved to the sessions hall—the judges no longer concealed their hatred of each other. It was then that they started to talk of Zorkin's retirement (in general it was then that there began what were from the ethical viewpoint not very fine actions by the authorities to deprive the Constitutional Court of its guard and vehicles and to "encroach" on Zorkin's state dacha).

The Constitutional Court was demoralized.

The court ceased to pay attention to the Supreme Soviet's decisions which directly contradicted the Constitution, whose number was growing daily. The majority of the Constitutional Court has on its conscience the blood of the Moscow May Day victims because that majority repealed the edict on banning the creation of a semiterrorists aggressive structure—the National Salvation Front. During the September events the chairman again tried to assume the role of "peacemaker" which he had tried out at the seventh Congress. And at the same time the role of Judas since, following Khasbulatov's example, he trampled on the authorities' constitutional agreement, repudiated the referendum, and betrayed the president.

Zorkin engaged in tireless politics mongering with the approval of the Constitutional Court majority. He sat with leaders of parties and movements, mainly communist. He gathered together the heads of the components of the Federation. He surpassed himself in putting forward demands for the "zero option," that is for a return to the omnipotence of the Congress and Supreme Soviet. His role is shameful—on the political and purely juridical plane—in the shameful attempts to impeach the president in March 1993. Counter to the meaning of the law, Constitutional Court Secretary Yuriy Rudkin suggested to the seventh Congress without any procedurally established trial the Constitutional Court itself decide the president's political fate. With Zorkin's blessing and on his instructions!

And so, September. When the question was raised of the unconstitutionality of the Supreme Soviet's decisions on the appointment of Rutskoy as acting president and the appointment of ministers and so forth, Zorkin initially affected indifference, stating that he did not have the relevant documents. When the documents were supplied he avoided examining them, saying their authenticity had not been sufficiently validated. The decision on the unconstitutionality of the acts of those who had occupied the White House and of the Supreme Soviet was not adopted.

Ultimately the chairman embarked on criminal actions. It has now become know that in the White House Valeriy Zorkin obtained on his own responsibility a certain quantity of weapons, issuing them to guards he himself had hired (that is, taken from no one knows where). These people hid with their weapons, abandoning their boss. A few more rifles were discovered in the safe of the former court chairman when his office was opened up.

Zorkin's resignation and the collapse of the Constitutional Court itself were essentially predetermined. But in these circumstances, when it was a case of saving the Constitutional Court as an institution, the chairman was for a long time unable to make up his mind to resign, in the end discarding his functions as chairman but remaining a member of the court.

After the well known events, Judge Luchin began to make sharp political statements of a revanchist nature. Judge Gadzhiyev went even further. In the presence of other judges he began to threaten his colleague Ametistov, stating that he would "go into the forest" with an assault rifle and struggle against Yeltsin's regime: "In two or three months everything will change—we shall return to power." In what bad dream could one predict a Constitutional Court judge with an assault rifle!..

The Constitutional Court apparatus was not only pervaded by pro-Bolshevik feelings of right-wing nihilism but was simply working badly in a number of its echelons. The scientific consultative council was virtually idle. Its chairman B. Strashchun, also chief adviser to the Constitutional Court, and following him his deputy V. Kikot, did more work on the side. Strashchun headed a department at the Moscow Juridical Institute, wrote textbooks, and worked on the draft Constitution. Neither the council leader nor the council itself engaged in their main task—elaborating the applied scientific bases of the Constitution. They uncomplainingly accepted direct violations of the requirements of the law by the chairmen and judges. Moreover, when some of the court members literally implored Zorkin to leave the post of chairman, B. Strashchun, the court's chief adviser, advised him against it.

V. Savelyev, the chairman's adviser and aide, played a strange and unseemly role. He engaged in gathering together critical statements by the press, politicians, and legal scholars addressed to the Constitutional Court and particularly its chairman and reported to the latter on "acts of sedition."

The fate of the Constitutional Court is unknown, there remains a certain sense of dyarchy because, I repeat, Zorkin has formally remained a member of the court while N. Vitruk is the deputy chairman acting as chairman. Joint work by the judges after what has happened is virtually impossible.

The Constitutional Court press center chief, whom Zorkin "took" from the Supreme Soviet not so long ago, behaved abominably. He issued some of Zorkin's statement in the heated days of the rebellion to the media as the court decision, that is as the collective opinion of its members. On Zorkin's instructions? At his own initiative?

So there is in fact no Constitutional Court in Russia. Its "biography" began quite favorably but the political commitment of a number of Constitutional Court members and its chairmen led this organ to complete collapse. The experience of the 1992-1993 model Constitutional Court should serve as a moral lesson. It is not only a case of purely legal elements—the obvious gaps in the law on the Constitutional Court and the court standing orders—and not only of the unsuccessful "first draft" of judges whereby former professors and senior lecturers in their majority proved unable to assume the responsible role of impartial and neutral judges. It is also a case of general culture, a sense of duty, the illusion of lack of responsibility and impunity of judges "selected for life" (until the age of 65). It is a lesson for all Russian democracy. In actual fact it is a catastrophe for any state system when executive power is obliged, going beyond the bounds of its normal province, but not the general legal province, to essentially temporarily abolish legal power, it goes against nature when the leader of the president's administration telephones the head of legal power and demands that he resign...

The institution of the Constitutional Court must unfailingly be preserved and the separation of powers restored. The plan to transfer its functions to a special collegium of the Supreme Court is totally unjustified. That is a system for countries with the Anglo-Saxon legal system but not the European continental system, where independent organs conduct constitutional legal business everywhere. Society must protect the institution of the Constitutional Court, almost destroyed by the majority of its first members.

Indictments of 1991 Coup Leaders Announced

LD1910195993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The announcing of the indictment over the 11 leaders of the 1991 coup continued on Tuesday [19 October]. All of them face charges figuring in Paragraph A of Article 64 of the Russian Federation's Criminal Code (high treason in the form of a coup aimed at seizing power).

In addition to that, former Vice President and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Gennadiy Yanayev and Anatoliy Lukyanov are accused of power abuse (Part 2 of Article 171). Yanayev is also accused of usurping power (Article 175), while former KGB leader Vladimir Kryuchkov, ex-Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and former high-ranking KGB officials Yuriy Plekhanov and Vyacheslav Generalov of negligence under mitigating circumstances (Article 260, Paragraph B).

The jury is to read out five volumes of the indictment, each one consisting of about 200 typed pages.

Future of Lenin's Body, Mausoleum Discussed

PM1910122393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 93 pp 1-2

[Ruslan Ignatyev article under "They Say That..." rubric: "Will V.I. Lenin Be Buried?"]

[Text] Yesterday specialists of the Scientific Research Center of Biological Structures opened up the sarcophagus and examined the body of V.I. Lenin.

The body of Vladimir Ilich was taken out and placed on a special pedestal [postament]. Four people spent one hour conducting a detailed study of the embalmed body. The hands and face were wetted with a special liquid. Then the remains were replaced as before.

According to Academician Sergey Debov, director of the center, V.I. Lenin's body is in a good condition. No changes have occurred for decades. Even if he has to be buried, the body might be preserved for many years.

Will V.I. Lenin be buried? ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's special correspondent was told at the Kremlin Commandant's Office that this decision is not up to them. In their opinion, this question has to be raised at the highest level. The possibility that Ilich's body will be committed to the earth cannot be ruled out, particularly as N.K. Krupskaya, the leader's widow, was opposed to Lenin's being housed in the Mausoleum.

I will say more: The mass media mention the will in which Lenin asked to be buried next to his mother's grave. How true is this?

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA asked Dr. of Historical Sciences Vladimir Melnichenko, director of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum, to comment.

"As long ago as the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which was held in 1989, Yuriy Karyakin raised the question of removing Lenin's body from the Mausoleum and burying it. Earlier Mark Zakharov had spoken of this. Later this subject was repeatedly puffed up. Anatoliy Sobchak also made a similar proposal. At the same time it was alleged that Lenin's wishes had been flouted. It is said that the last will of the leader, who wanted after his death to lie alongside his mother, was not carried out. I can assure you that there is no documentary confirmation of this. Previously, owing to the supersecrecy of individual delicate questions connected with the name of Lenin, access to the archives was restricted. There is no ban now, just as there is no will relating to Lenin's burial, since such a document would have been published long ago.

"Yes, in principle Lenin was in favor of committing a body to the earth or cremating it. However, he never made such statements with regard to himself.

"With regard to the wishes of N.K. Krupskaya I can say the following. When the Second Congress of USSR Soviets adopted the decree 'On Constructing a Vault To House the Remains of V.I. Lenin,' she did not object in her speech at the congress. But, according to V.D. Bonch-Burevich, Vladimir Ilich's wife was opposed to mummification of the leader's body. At first Krupskaya hoped that after taking leave of V.I. Lenin his body would be committed to the earth. But in March 1924 the Commission on Perpetuating the Memory of Lenin published a document on taking measures for the possibly lengthy preservation of the body. On 1 August 1924 the Mausoleum opened its doors.

"Now the question has arisen, in point of fact, of a second funeral for V.I. Lenin. In my view, this problem must be decided at the Federal Assembly. It seems to me that scientists, well-known people, and public figures must be invited to express their opinion, and then the appropriate documents must be adopted at government level.

"One final point," Vladimir Yefimovich said in conclusion. "Why must V.I. Lenin be buried in St. Petersburg? Maybe this could be done at Gorki [Lenin's country retreat, not to be confused with Gorkiy city east of Moscow], where he died, or in Ulyanovsk, let us say—his home town—or in the grounds of the Kremlin, or he could be buried in the Mausoleum itself?"

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA contacted Olga Dmitriyevna Ulyanova, V.I. Lenin's niece. To our question she replied:

"There was no will concerning Vladimir Ilich's funeral. I lived alongside Lenin in the Kremlin for a long time, and our apartments were next to each other. I was with Lenin at Gorki along with Mariya Ilinichna and Nadezhda Konstantinovna, and we heard nothing of the sort. My father, Vladimir Ilich's brother, also said nothing to me about this. There can only be a question of the so-called political testament. This document is well known."

While the mass media are discussing the question of Lenin's second funeral, the Mausoleum, as previously, is operating as usual. According to a report by the commandant, the flow of people to Lenin's body has increased sharply. Thus, last weekend alone more than 10,000 people visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum. For comparison: In September the Mausoleum was visited by 83,000 people, and there have already been 44,000 since the beginning of October.

Sergey Dontsov, chief of the State-Legal Administration of Moscow City Hall, has told the newspaper's editorial office that a draft of the edict "On Restoring the Historical Aspect of Red Square in the City of Moscow" was sent to the president's apparatus yesterday. It speaks, in particular, of reburying the body of V.I. Lenin in St. Petersburg's Volkovoye Cemetery. The capital's City Hall is entrusted with ensuring everything necessary for this procedure. The V.I. Lenin Mausoleum is to be transferred from the balance sheet of the Kremlin Commandant's Office to that of the Administration of State Control Over the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments in the City of Moscow. It goes on to point out: The remains of all those lying near and in the Kremlin wall are to be reburied at the Novodevichye Cemetery or at other places in accordance with the wishes of relatives and friends. It is planned to restore the chapel of the Iverskaya icon of the Mother of God in Istoricheskiy Proyezd and to replace the five-pointed stars on the Kremlin towers with the traditional symbols of the Russian State. It is proposed to return the monument to Minin and Pozharskiy to its historical place on Red Square.

The draft edict is accompanied by a letter from Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, in which he substantiates these proposals.

Instead of an afterword

Of course, there can have been no will. The leader evidently considered it not quite tactful to speak of himself. But this cannot serve as an obstacle to burying Lenin. Old people in remote areas say: Until Vladimir Ilich's body has been committed to the earth, as is the custom with Christians, there will be trouble. But I remind you once again: The question must be decided in a civilized way.

Yeltsin To Call For Burial

LD1910125093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has applied to the president of Russia in a request to decide on the burial of Lenin's body. The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from competent sources, Boris Yeltsin's decree, which is being prepared, is expected to stipulate that Lenin's remains in accordance with the will of the deceased are to be buried, under a procedure established by legislation, near the graves of his mother and sister at the Volkovo cemetery in St. Petersburg.

Lenin mausoleum is to be turned over by the Moscow Kremlin commandant's office to the authority of the department for state control over the protection and use of historical and cultuarl monuments of Moscow.

On Luzhkov's suggestion, Post no. 1, removed after the October 3- 4 events, is to be transferred to the Unknown Soldier's Tomb in Alexandrov Garden.

As for the ashes of Soviet government figures buried near the walls of the Moscow Kremlin, those are to be reburied at Novodevichy Cemetery or, at the relatives' wish, at other cemeteries.

Election Issues

Yeltsin Edict Bans Groups, Individuals From Election

LD1910185693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1655 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian president issued the following statement here today:

Today, on 19 October, Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin signed an edict "On Certain Measures to Ensure State and Public Security During the Period of the 1993 Election Campaign." The edict that comes into force from the moment it is signed, says:

A number of public associations sparked off and organized the armed mutiny in the city of Moscow on 3d and 4th October 1993. These extremist actions sparked off a clear danger that a civil war may be unleashed. Paying lip service to defending democracy and the Constitution, these associations showed that it was only the seizure of power that interested them. Genuine opposition that regards itself as part of the democratic system can never overstep man's most sacred right—the right to life.

Having violated this right, the self-styled "opposition" public associations have put themselves beyond the democratic pale, having turned into terrorist formations that, through destabilizing the state and fanning up universal enmity and fear, are setting themselves the goal of taking over power as a monopoly domain of their own. Their step was no coincidence. Under the protection of the leadership and a number of deputies of the former Supreme Soviet, these associations preached ideas of national and social strife, and openly threatened violence against those who did not share their views and called for violence. Some of these associations had illegal armed formations of their own.

A society creating democratic fundamentals of civil life cannot allow democratic institutions, and first of all elections, to be used by those who had already bloodied their hands and have no intention of renouncing man-hating ideas. Giving such public associations complete freedom of propaganda within the electoral campaign will not only create a new danger to state and public security, but it will also be an insult to the memory of those who perished defending the country from the danger of a civil war.

Guided by the constitutional responsibility of the Russian Federation president to ensure state and public security, and in order to avert any provocations and mass disturbances during the 1993 electoral campaign, while bearing in mind the fact that the citizens of Russia are not denied the possibility to express their interests and political preferences through other electoral associations of similar orientation, I resolve:

1. That it is established that the National Salvation Front, the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the "Officers' Union" Public Club, the Union of Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen, Persons Liable to Military Service and Members of their Families, as well as electoral associations that include the above-mentioned bodies, cannot be registered as electoral associations;

that individuals who, in accordance with law, have been charged in connection with the armed mutiny of 3-4th October 1993 in Moscow, and earlier in connection with armed attacks on the staff of the General Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, cannot be registered as candidates to participate in elections to both chambers of the Federation Council, as well as in elections to the representative bodies of power of the subjects of the Russian Federation on 12 December 1993.

2. The present edict does not concern citizens who had been members in the public bodies mentioned in the first paragraph of the edict, but who are not among those mentioned in the second paragraph of the first point of the present edict.

3. The present edict becomes law from the moment of signing.

Justice Ministry Increases Number of Eligible Parties

LD1910233293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian Ministry for Justice has increased the number of parties, movements and associations whose charter makes them eligible to run for elections to the Russian Federation's Federal Assembly from 96 to 126. The new list, dated October 18 and received by Interfax from the ministry itself, includes the Revival Union (led by Dmitriy Rogozin), the Russian Afghanistan War Veterans' Union (led by Aleksandr Kotenev), the Agrarian Union of Russia (Vasiliy Strodubtsev), the Russian Lawyers' Association, the Russian Human Rights, Law and Order Foundation, the Russian "Family" charity, the Russian Women's Union, the Russian Triathlon Union, the Russian Consumers' Union and others.

Interfax was told by the justice ministry that the list was not exhaustive.

Presidential Aide Volkov Comments on Election Campaign

LD1910193893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1228 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Tallalyev]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The newly-formed election bloc "Russia's Choice" is likely to score between 33 and 38 percent of all seats in the State Duma. The lower chamber of the new Russian legislature, during the December elections, according to Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy chief of staff of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

According to Volkov, the party of Russian Unity and Concord, led by Sergey Shakhray, is capable of getting between 10 and 15 per cent of all seats in the lower chamber, the Civic Union - 8 to 10 percent, the Agrarian Union - seven to eight percent. As concerns the Association of Trades Unions their share can be as large as 122-15 [figure as received] percent.

These tentative figures can further increase as a result of the redistribution of the votes won by parties and organisations which fail to clear the five-percent barrier and get seats in the new parliament.

Volkov believes that the leaders of the right-wing blocs and parties will probably seek an accord two weeks before the elections to stop shooting arrows at each other but to pool efforts instead to form a single right-wing faction within the new legislature.

Volkov said categorically that the parties which smeared themselves with blood during the violence in Moscow on October 3 and 4 should not be given the right to run in the elections, but pointed out that their leaders might join one bloc or another.

The presidential aide confirmed that all parties and organisations will be given equal access to the media. As concerns such newspapers as PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, they will change their names and direction before resuming publication.

The Foreign Ministry is now engaged in inviting foreign observers to verify that the elections are free and fair.

Vyacheslav Volkov said Petr Filippov, who was nominated for a seat in the State Duma by the Russia's Choice Movement, has decided to run for a seat in the Federation Council. Filippov, who heads the presidential administration's Analytical Centre for the Social and Economic Policy will "cede" his nomination to lawyer Andrey Makarov, one of the leaders of the anti-corruption campaign, who was not listed among the nominees of the Russia's Choice Movement at its congress in Novgorod this past weekend.

Asked where the new parliament will meet, Volkov said the State Duma will probably be housed in the building in Novyy Arbat Street where the committees and commissions of the disbanded Russian parliament operated, while the Federation Council is likely to get the former parliament centre building in Tsvetnoy Boulevard.

Favors Banning 'Fascist-Type' Groups

LD2010101293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1610 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy head of the Russian president's administration, held a news conference in Moscow today. Its subject was the formation of pre-election blocs and coalitions during the preparations for the elections to the state Duma and the federal assembly. Here is our correspondent Gennadiy Goryachev with the details.

[Goryachev] Absolutely all the blocs and parties will have equal opportunities to use the mass media, including, naturally, radio and televison, in the election campaign, Vyacheslav Volkov said at the news conference. However, it seems that it will be extremely difficult to do this because there is very little time left. There are currently 10 blocs, and the process of forming them is still going on. Moreover, there are 17 organizations taking part in the campaign one way or another. [passage omitted]

Vyacheslav Volkov said that during the two weeks preceding the elections, it is proposed to form an alliance of the democratic forces, that is, to conclude an agreement on cooperation between the leaders of the democratic movements in order to unite efforts in the election campaign and to prevent a fundamental split, which in the past has caused considerable harm to the whole movement.

Regarding the opposition organizations:

[Begin Volkov recording] The parties that are stained with blood cannot take part in free elections. Hopefully the president shares this view, since the sooner they are banned by decree, that is by the Justice Ministry...[pauses] the Justice Ministry could take the opposite decision, but I think that this simply should not happen. At least, they will be given the opportunity, or some of their leaders will be given the opportunity, to enter some bloc or movement. But to restore fascist-type organizations, or, even more so, to give them the opportunity for legal activity or to even take part in elections, it seems to me this should not be done. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Goryachev] Vyacheslav Volkov recalled that there were still three sources of financing the election campaign: state funds, the funds of parties and associations forming the blocs, and independent support, that is individual funds from businessmen and commercial structures, which should, however, without fail be legislatively drawn up.

In conclusion, Volkov expressed confidence that this time there would be no falsification of the results of the elections by the local soviets, as happened during the last referendum, for example in Lipetsk Oblast. It was precisely with this aim in mind that President Yeltsin invited to Russia a considerable number of independent observers from various international organizations.

Electoral Commission Chair Ryabov Comments on Work

LD1910163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1549 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Nikolay Ryabov, denied some mass media reports alleging that the date set for the elections would be changed to some time later. "Elections to the Federation Council and to the State Duma will be held in December, as scheduled, and local electoral commissions should be oriented to this date," Ryabov said. He expressed confidence that there is every possibility to ensure active participation in the voting and that hold the elections on a high level [sentence as received].

The Central Electoral Commission has begun to endorse candidates to posts of chairmen of electoral commissions of constituencies. On Tuesday [19 October], chairmen of such commissions in republics and autonomous districts have been nominated.

Ryabov noted that heads of regional commissions will carry the main burden during the election campaign and some time after. The burden will be even greater when apart from elections to the Federal Assembly a nationwide referendum on a new Russian Constitution will be held.

Ryabov pointed out that an inviolable rule for members of electoral commissions of all levels should be the observance of law and strict following to the letter and spirit of documents pertaining to elections which were endorsed by the president of the Russian Federation.

"We must comply with these demands in full measure also because for the first time elections will be held with the participation of international observers," Ryabov said.

District Commissions Being Formed

LD1910185793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation has started formation of district election commissions. On Tuesday [19 October] the Commission's session confirmed candidacies of chairmen of district election commissions of republics and autonomous districts within the Russian Federation. Addressing the session, CEC Chairman Nikolay Ryabov reported that chairmen of district election commissions of territories and regions are to be confirmed on Wednesday and those of Moscow and St. Petersburg on Thursday. In his words, district election commissions are to be formed before November 2.

Ryabov underlined that for the first time professional lawyers are being elected as chairmen of district election commissions. Elections with participation of international supervisors are also to be held for the first time in Russia. Ryabov said that consultations with Canada, the United States, Council of Europe and CSCE are to be conducted to find out what forms of technical control exist to prevent falsification of voting results on computers.

Responding to Interfax at a press conference staged after the CEC session, Nikolay Ryabov reported that Chechnya's leadership would not prevent the formation of electoral districts on its territory where the population would participate in the elections to the State Duma on federal lists of candidates from various parties and blocs. The republic's President Dzhokhar Dudayev voiced these reassurances in the course of a 2-hour meeting with CEC and State Federation Committee representatives in Groznyy.

"It is necessary to create a district election commission in order to vote on one-mandate constituencies, however, we have failed to agree this issue with the Chechen leadership," noted Ryabov.

In his words, the federal power will not adopt a decision to hold elections to regional representative bodies of the Russian Federation on December 12. Constitutent members are expected to be recommended to hold such elections 2-3 months after the election of the Federal Assembly, underlined Ryabov. He called the intention to hold elections to Moscow's City Duma on December 12 as "ill-considered" and said that it would be difficult for electors to determine their position within such a short period of time.

Chechnya To Shun Elections

LD1910223793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1536 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The only region in the Russian Federation which does not intend to hold elections to the new federal legislature is the Chechen Republic. This was announced by the head of the Central Electoral Commission, Nikolay Ryabov, who met with journalists today.

According to Ryabov, the leaders of the Central Electoral Commission went to Chechnya to meet the republic's President Dzhokhar Dudayev. In the course of a two-hour conversation, they expressed their doubt that the Chechen Republic is not part of the Russian Federation and called on its leaders to hold elections for the Federal Assembly. However, no definite reply was received, said Nikolay Ryabov.

Along with this, it was announced that voters in the Chechen Republic who choose to vote in the elections will be given the possibility to cast their ballots.

Electoral Commission Concerned With Absence of Candidate Lists

LD1910180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1155 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Anastasia Tur, member of the Central Electoral Commission, has expressed concern over the fact that the political parties and movements of Russia are in no hurry to submit to the Central Electoral Commission for registration the lists of their candidates to the State Duma. Ms. Tur is in charge of maintaining relations with electoral groups. So far such contacts, necessary in such situation, were established only one such group, the Liberal Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, she told ITAR-TASS.

According to Ms. Tur, the delay with the arrangement of documents is going to create problems both for the Central Electoral Commission, which at some moment will be showered with applications, and for the parties and movements, which will have to urgently collect signatures of electors. The schedule of the electoral campaign and the elections themselves is very strenuous, and such a rush may be very difficult for the Central Electoral Commission and for the associations of electors.

In order to register an all-federal list of candidates, it is necessary to collect signatures of no less than 100,000 electors in a minimum of seven subjects of the federation, she continued. In her opinion, leaders of the political parties and movements, which intend to take part in the elections, should hurry up, because lists of candidates from a party or a bloc of parties together with the signatures and applications of candidates should be submitted to the Central Electoral Commission no later than 35 days prior to the elections.

Kozyrev: Yeltsin To Stick to 12 Jun Election Date

LD1910163193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] In response to a question by Interfax regarding conditions under which President Boris Yeltsin could revise his decision to hold early presidential elections on June 12, 1994, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said, "My contacts with the president have convinced me that the chances that he will abandon this decision are close to nil. It is another thing if the parliament 'obliges' the president to make such a move."

According to the minister, "it would be useful, simply from the point of view of the building of the Russian State, that the first president, who was elected to this post by the Russian people and who reconfirmed his mandate six months ago, would carry out the whole term of the presidency."

Yeltsin Opposition to Simultaneous Elections Explained

LD1910215793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1451 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 19 ITAR-TASS—Why does President Boris Yeltsin reject the idea of simultaneous elections for the presidency and the Federal Assembly? This question was asked by the newspaper "NARODNAYA GAZETA" on behalf of its readers in an interview with Anatoliy Tiyazhlov, head of the Moscow Regional Administration.

The reply was: "I believe (and have grounds to say so) that the president does not want simultaneous elections not because he wants to preserve his personal power for a longer period. If he wanted to do this, he would have set a date for presidential elections in December, because his rating is now higher than ever before, according to public opinion polls".

Tiyazhlov said, "the president is anxious about safeguarding Russia's sovereignty. It is impossible to renew the entire power system at one go, continuity is necessary which can only be ensured by a comparatively smooth transition in today's circumstances.

"This is why the president, who maybe risks his chances of being elected, is ready to sacrifice his personal political interests for the sake of the state interests, the interests of Russia. This is the only way for a real president to act," Tiyazhlov stressed.

Popov Opposes Ministers Working in Federal Assembly

LD1910194993 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that he disagreed completely with the idea that ministers can combine posts in executive bodies and in the future Federal Assembly. He believes that such practices will revive the parliament of the Brezhnev era, that was overflowing with ministers, judges, and prosecutors devising laws for themselves.

'Russia's Choice' Official Interviewed on Congress

PM2010094193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 1

[Interview with Sergey Yushenkov of "Russia's Choice" by unidentified correspondent: "Evening Call to Sergey Yushenkov"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] How do you assess the results of the "Russia's Choice" bloc constituent congress?

[Yushenkov] It was a success. To all intents and purposes there is a list of candidates for the State Duma. Unity in principle was achieved on the basis of the bloc's program, and a new organization—the "Russia's Choice" movement—was set up which, together with other democratic organizations, had formed the "Russia's Choice" bloc. Sergey Kovalev was elected chairman, while the executive committee is headed by Gennadiy Burbulis.

Incidentally, "Russia's Choice" is now virtually the only structure which, minor points aside, will be entering the election on a platform of support for the president and the government.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But some rank-and-file members of "Democratic Russia" stubbornly hold to the view that they are being undeservedly "done down"...

[Yushenkov] This is simply a question of two strategic approaches colliding. The congress organizers believed that "Russia's Choice" should be structured as a movement, since that provides greater opportunities for clear-cut organization. And the deputies would be subordinate to a single leadership. Whereas a bloc does not have these opportunities and can give rise to factionalism and instability.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What do you think of the creation of the "Shakhray party" in Novgorod?

[Yushenkov] Insofar as I am aware, they have also stated their support for the president and the government. But our government is a coalition—consequently, this party reflects the interests of a different wing of the Russian Government and a different approach to the implementation of economic reform and national state makeup.

'Russia's Choice' Congress Assessed

PM1910154793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Report by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy: "'Russia's Choice' Names Its Candidates for the State Duma"]

[Text] The founding congress of the "Russia's Choice" social and political bloc was held last Saturday and Sunday in the Cinematographers' Institute. It was attended by 602 delegates from 82 Russian regions.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the congress was attended by Russia's political elite—you could see at the Cinematographers' Institute on those two days almost as many familiar faces as turn up at movie gatherings. The presence of five vice premiers and the head of the presidential administration left no doubt what line the parties and organizations in the bloc support. As for the principles that brought them together in "Russia's Choice," they were summed up in the three words—freedom, ownership, legality—that frame Peter the Great on his rampant horse. "Our goal is to revive the country's great traditions, based on patriotism, morality, democracy, and respect for work"—that is how the bloc's election program begins.

Giving details of the tasks of "Russia's Choice," its leader, Yegor Gaydar, stressed that the bloc will be guided not by the election logic of promises but by responsibility for Russia. So the basic economic principles the bloc intends to uphold include a range of anti-inflationary measures, in particular the abandonment of preferential credits, the reduction of import subsidies, and also the reform of the budget system, including tax cuts in the future. In the sphere of the evolution of the state, "Russia's Choice" favors the territorial integrity of the Federation, equal rights for all regions and peoples, flexible and multifaceted federal relations, and a clear delimitation of federal, regional, and local ownership. Finally, to ensure that the rule of law takes pride of place in Russian society, the bloc deems it necessary to boost the funding of law-enforcement organs and guarantee social safeguards for the custodians of the law.

The author of the bloc's election program, Gennadiy Burbulis, noted in particular that "we will not be convincing if we do not give people a future." This future, this bloc ideology, will be the idea of a strong Russia, in which it will be good for its citizens to live. In this way the democrats, in their new shape, are taking over one of the opposition's attractive slogans, which, moreover, strengthens the election platform. One interesting idea aired at the congress was Andrey Kozyrev's repeated suggestion "not to make ourselves a laughingstock in the eyes of the world," but allow the president to do his job for the duration of his allotted term.

However, the democrats would not be democrats if, in clear contrast to previous events, the organized congress had taken place entirely without conflict. It was prompted by views of the future of "Russia's Choice"—whether it should be a bloc or a more rigidly organized movement.

The most acute situation is in Moscow. The leaders of "Democratic Russia" accused the bloc's executive committee of trying to turn "Russia's Choice" into an obedient, manipulable structure, since on Friday, in the Russian Press Institute, a "small group" had chosen an alternative list of candidates. The program principles of "Democratic Russia" and "Russia's Choice" do not differ, Lev Ponomarev said at a press conference, but "Democratic Russia" cannot go along with undemocratic procedures that might carry over to the future parliament. He said that the bloc's organizers' uncompromising stance on "Democratic Russia" was due to a desire to ease his movement out of "Russia's Choice." In conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, one of its leaders, Arkadiy Murashev, did not deny the existence of this stance. In his view, "Democratic Russia" has performed its function of combating the totalitarian regime and is no longer capable of being a creative force following the departure of many key figures of the past. Nonetheless, it has its own electorate, and for tactical reasons it would be useful for "Democratic Russia" to win its "own" maximum vote alone.

However, as a result of negotiations "Democratic Russia" was persuaded to remain in the bloc, with Yegor Gaydar's personal position being a major contributory factor. However, none of the "Democratic Russia" leaders has managed to get into the top 14 in the popularity polls. The list of "Russia's Choice" candidates for the State Duma is headed by Yegor Gaydar, Vladimir Shumeyko, Ella Pamfilova, and Sergey Kovalev.

The author of the bloc's program, Gennadiy Burbulis, remains outside the group of selected candidates, in 16th place. But Yegor Gaydar reserves the right to personally nominate five candidates.

The fact that Yuriy Chernichenko's Peasant Party and Pavel Bunich's Democratic Initiative Party became members of "Russia's Choice" at the congress can certainly be counted a success for the bloc. Both the individual and party membership of the bloc gives it considerable chances of implementing Yegor Gaydar's program thesis of creating a stable, responsible majority in parliament.

Burbulis To Be Nominated From Territorial District

LD1910232293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The president of the humanitarian and political research center "Strategy," Gennadiy Burbulis, intends to join the election race for one of the new parliament's chambers from a territorial district rather than from any political party or bloc, he told Interfax today.

During the vote, the constituent congress of the "Russia's Choice" election bloc last Sunday [17 October] failed to include Burbulis, one of the authors of the bloc's program adopted by the congress, in its federal election roll after it was cut from 21 to 14 candidates.

Burbulis said that a number of proposals worth consideration followed the congress.

'Democratic Russia' To Stay With 'Russia's Choice'

LD1910195393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The creation of the election bloc "Russia's Choice" marks a new stage in the development of Russia as a democratic state, according to co-chairmen of the public movement "Democratic Russia" Lev Ponomarev and Gleb Yakunin.

Speaking at a news conference here today, they announced that the Democratic Russia movement will act as part of the new bloc in the forthcoming elections.

Lev Ponomarev told ITAR-TASS that the Democratic Russian movement will stick with the Russia's Choice also after the December 11 and 12 elections and the bloc will work together in the parliament.

Gleb Yakunin praised this unification of "the two powerful democratic blocs into one" but said that in the event of the Russia's Choice evolving into a ruling party, the Democratic Russia movement will not join the party.

At the Russia's Choice congress last weekend neither of the Democratic Russia co-chairmen scored enough votes to be nominated for seats in the new Russian legislature from this bloc.

Republican Party Leader Opposes Split of Democratic Forces

LD1910213493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1407 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—A meeting of the Public Chamber of the constitutional conference on Tuesday [19 October] "will be useful as it will enable the president to learn the opinion of the country's main political forces", Vladimir Lysenko, co-chairman of the Republican Party, told ITAR-TASS.

He said many proposals on the draft constitution and elections to the Federal Assembly were made on Tuesday.

Lysenko said a number of the Republican Party's members intend to cooperate during the election compaign with the Yavlinskiy bloc, while part of them intends to cooperate with "Russia's Choice".

Lysenko is against the split of democratic forces and their opposition to "Russia's Choice" which is regarded as the "presidential party" by many. If democrats quarrel the Communist forces can win the elections.

Economic Freedom Party Head Assesses Registration, Campaign

LD1910175593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1049 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—In the opinion of Konstantin Borovoy, co-chairman of the Economic Freedom Party, methods used in the electoral campaign by some state officials "are not quite proper". According to Borovoy, the August Bloc, which includes the Economic Freedom Party and the Party of Constitutional Democrats, was not registered on Monday for some unimportant reason on a lower official level. "But we shall do our utmost to get registered," he added. "If this situation remains unchanged, we shall not take part in the elections and urge others to do the same," he said at a press conference today.

According to Borovoy, the August Bloc is nominating some 150 candidates to run at one-seat constituencies. "But actually we shall support most effectively 40 to 50 people, who have good chances of being elected to the future parliament," he said. In his opinion, the electoral campaign of one candidate will cost some 20 million roubles. "Many of our proteges will have no problem with money, because powerful commercial structures are interested in their election."

Threatens To Boycott Elections

LD1910220093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Party of Economic Freedom will refuse to participate in the elections to the State Duma and will call on a boycott in the event that the Constitutional Conference, underway in Moscow, introduces amendments to the earlier developed draft Constitution and if equal conditions are not created for waging the pre-election campaign. This statement was voiced by co-chairman of the Party of Economic Freedom Konstantin Borovoy at a press conference held on Tuesday [19 October] in Moscow. In his words, general secretary of the party Irina Khakamada is to make a statement on this issue on October 19 at the Constitutional Conference.

"The current political struggle is acquiring non-civilized forms," asserted Borovoy, as "ideologists of provocation join the campaign." He mentioned the name Golushko, probably referring to the current Russian Security Minister.

Borovoy criticized the Russia's Choice bloc. "If the bloc receives a majority in the new parliament," said Borovoy, "we are doomed to 25-30 years of suffering until the generation with poisoned mentality goes away."

Borovoy mentioned critical objections during registration of the August bloc (Party of Economic Freedom and Party of Cadets) and reported that on Monday the bloc was once again deprived of the possibility to register under the pretext that the documents had been incorrectly compiled.

While commenting on Borovoy's statements at the press conference at the request of Interfax, Chief of the Security Ministry's Public Relations Center Aleksey Kondaurov stated, "The Security Ministry does not participate and does not try to influence the election campaign in any way." He said that the task of the ministry is to work within the framework of the existing legislation and to provide normal and peaceful conditions in the country during the preparation and holding of the elections.

Former Press Minister Announces New Political Bloc

LD1910222593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] A new independent political bloc, the Association of Independent Professionals, has been set up, former Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov, recently appointed Russia's ambassador to UNESCO [UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], said at a news conference in Moscow Tuesday [19 October].

Fedotov said he did not intend to leave politics and will probably join the Association, even though he did not intend to run for parliament in the next elections.

He was reluctant to answer an Interfax question concerning exactly who were the initiators of the new bloc, but said there were "numerous respected people who are professionals and do not want to link their names with any existing party."

As lawyers, economists, and sociologists they can be useful in the wording of new legislation either as experts or as members of future parliament, Fedotov stated. The new independent bloc should emerge on the political scene shortly.

'Union of Independents' To Work With Yavlinskiy

MK1910144093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 1

[NG-signed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "'Union of Independents' Set Up"]

[Text] This past weekend, yet another constituent congress took place—that of the opposition "Union of Independents" public-political movement. It was set up at the initiative of a number of organizations and groups of Democratic Russia, which suspended their membership in the movement. The congress was attended by 10 public organizations, including the Democratic Union, the Peasants' Democratic Party, the "Young Russia" union, the "Free Russia" democratic association, and others. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy was among the guest speakers. The congress adopted the constituent declaration, the charter, and the fundamental principles of the "Union of Independents." It also reached an agreement with Mr. Yavlinskiy on collaboration with his electoral bloc. The "Union of Independents'" platform calls for renouncing the doctrine of "social Darwinism" and the current economic policy related to it, paying attention to human rights, and also reviving Russia's economy on the basis of private capital organized by the authorities and the public. Political change, in the "Union of Independents'" view, may materialize through convening a Constituent Assembly.

'New Russia' Bloc Prepares List of Candidates

LD1910210993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Former Soviet People's Deputies Telman Gdlyan, Mikhail Bocharov and Nikolay Ivanov headed the list of candidates to the State Duma from the bloc New Russia. It was established at the bloc's constitutive congress in Moscow on Tuesday [19 October].

According to the bloc's leaders, its candidates will obtain not fewer than 10 percent of representation in the future parliament.

The bloc consists of 9 organizations—the Russian People's Party (Leader Telman Gdlyan), the Russian Christian and Democratic Union (Aleksandr Ogorodnikov), the Russian Social and Liberal Party (Vladimir Filin), the Russian Bourgeoisie and Democratic Party (Yevgeniy Butov), the Foundation for Progress, Human Rights and Mercy (Nikolay Ivanov), the Trade Union of Mining and Smelting Industry's Workers (Boris Misnik), the Russian Agricultural Union (Yevgeniy Grinev), the Public Movement Assembly (Vasiliy Sadovnik) and the Russian Federation Social and Liberal Movement (Vladimir Falko and Mikhail Gurevich). The congress decided to close the list of the organizations within the bloc at this.

As many as 200 people were nominated candidates to the State Duma deputies.

The bloc's final pre-election program is to be worked out in the next few days.

Election Preparations by Opposition Parties Reported

LD1910151993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Pavel Anokhin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We have already talked in our bulletins about those political forces that intend to back the president. But those opposed to the present government are also making vigorous preparations for the elections. These include Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's

Liberal Democratic Party and Viktor Aksyuchits's Russian Christian Democratic Movement.

The Russian Popular Union [Rossiyskiy Obshchenarodnyy Soyuz] does not intend to stay in the dark either. Its leader, Sergey Baburin, has told journalists that the board of the Russian Popular Union has decided to take part in the elections and to form its own list.

Judging from statements made by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Bolsheviks also intend to fight for seats in parliament using all available means.

Against that, Lev Ponomarev, a cochairman of the Democratic Russia movement, argues that the party that took part in the rebellion has placed itself outside the law.

An even harsher line has been taken by the Economic Freedom Party, headed by Konstantin Borovoy. It has called for, and I quote, communism and fascism to be adjudged criminal ideologies in a court of law.

LDPR Leader Zhirinovskiy Expounds Election Program

PM1910131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with V.V. Zhirinovskiy of the Liberal-Democratic Party, by Andrey Zhukov; place and date not given: "As Always in Opposition"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the first party to register its federal list of candidates for the elections to the State Duma at the Central Electoral Commission was V.V. Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party.

"The time is past when political scientists and journalists discussed with cheerful irony how many members the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] actually had—18 or 45," Vladimir Volfovich said in a conversation with your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent. "According to the registration documents stored in its headquarters, the LDPR now has over 40,000 members."

The party has its organizations in every region of Russia and each of the regional organizations (city and oblast together) has several hundred members, including several dozen real activists. For example, the Petersburg, Krasnoyarsk, Belgorod, Stavropol, Krasnodar, and Vologda LDPR regional organizations are highly "battleworthy."

Unlike the leaders of "Civic Union," the LDPR does not change its views depending on external circumstances, and continues to find itself in opposition with respect to the present Russian leadership.

The LDPR has elaborated its own developed economic program, as an alternative to the government one, the leader stressed. Its basic principles are as follows: No worshiping of Western economic models; rejecting diktat from the West, relying on one's own resources; a gradualist approach to economic transformations and reliable management of the course of reform; a reduction in taxation on producers of commodity output; the privatization of state property in the interests of all the citizens of Russia and the confiscation of this property from the mafia and corrupt officials; financial reform, and, after this has been conducted—the stoppage of the price increases.

Admittedly, as always, Vladimir Volfovich has not fully determined specific realistic mechanisms for putting the principles he has declared into practice. And so it is unclear whether there is anything of substance behind them, or whether the LDPR leader is indulging in wishful thinking, as is so often the case with him.

V.V. Zhirinovskiy went on to note that the liberal democrats advocate Russia's state integrity with administrative-territorial division and broad national-cultural (but not territorial) autonomy. They champion Russia's defense might, its independent foreign policy, the active protection of the Russian population throughout the territory of the former USSR, and also a tough fight against crime.

At the upcoming elections, the party leaders are counting on receiving a significant number of deputies' mandates at various levels. Whereas in the past the LDPR used to think about a possible political bloc, now a resolute and definitive decision has been adopted to the effect that the LDPR will go to the elections independently.

V.V. Zhirinovskiy admitted that the "Stolichnyy" and "Menatep" banks and a number of commercial firms and individual entrepreneurs are giving financial support to the LDPR. He categorically rejects money from the funds of the CPSU or the KGB.

The lamentable October events are giving the LDPR a historic opportunity, the leader of the party said in conclusion. Eighteen parties have been banned and the publication of 14 newspapers has been suspended. In this way, competitors have been removed. This means that the supporters of opposition parties will vote willy-nilly for the LDPR, since it is now the only opposition party.

Christian Democrats Prepare Electoral List

PM1910103393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "The First Election Deals: Vlasov, Zorkin, and Aksyuchits Get Together"]

[Text] The Russian Christian Democratic Movement [RCDM] held a press conference on 18 October.

The press conference was conducted by RCDM Chairman Viktor Aksyuchits, who was also introduced to journalists as a Russian Federation people's deputy. He announced the Christian Democrats' intention to participate in the Federal Assembly elections. He explained what had prompted this intention, since before the October events the the RCDM was planning on boycotting elections. According to Aksyuchits, all sensible politicians must come together to "create a counterweight to dictatorship." That is why, the RCDM leader said, "we took what was for us a difficult deicison, although we are aware that the future parliament will be illegitimate."

The Christian Democrats' electoral list will be headed by Yuriy Vlasov, described by Aksyuchits as a "man with a clear head and an iron will, a man of physical and spiritual purity." The second candidate from the RCDM for a seat in the State Duma will be Valeriy Zorkin. While he has relinquished his powers as chairman of the Constitutional Court, however, Zorkin does remain a judge—which prevents him from running for a legislative body. How this conflict between the status of judge and the status of contender for a deputy's seat will be resolved remains unclear. Number three on the list, which also includes representatives of the Russian Assembly of the Nobility, the Russian Merchants' Union, and the Orthodox Brotherhood, is Viktor Aksyuchits himself.

Asked whether the Orthodox Church supports the Christian Democrats in their election efforts, Aksyuchits replied: "I believe that the vast majority of the clergy support us, because we are promoting traditional values."

According to the RCDM leader, the "Russia's Choice" bloc will get no more than 15-20 percent of the vote and approximately the same number of votes will go to the democratic opposition.

Russian All-People's Union Lists Election Candidates

LD1910200393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The federal electoral list of the Russian All-People's Union (RAPU) includes nearly 70 candidates to the State Duma, one of the leaders of this opposition movement Nikolay Pavlov, member of the Supreme Soviet disbanded by presidential decree 1400, told Interfax.

The list is topped by former leaders of parliamentary opposition Sergey Baburin, chairman of the RAPU ruling body, Nikolay Pavlov, member of the RAPU coordination council, and Svetlana Goryacheva, deputy prosecutor of Vladivostok. Not all the 70 men and women on the list have been consulted, Pavlov said.

Lists with personal applications and photographs of the candidates must be submitted to the Central Electoral Commission before October 21. Following registration the Commission will allow collecting of signatures. A total of 100,000 signatures in at least seven constituent parts of the Federation must be collected for the list to take part in the federal elections. Even though, in Pavlov's opinion, the deadline is too close, he is confident that the RAPU will manage to overcome these "technical snags," for regional branches of the movement are active in 30 parts of Russia.

Socialist Workers' Party Plans To Form Election Bloc

LD2010085693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Socialist Workers' Party will participate in the upcoming December 12 elections to the new Russian parliament and will probably form a bloc "with other left wing movements."

This decision was adopted at the third extraordinary congress of the party on Tuesday in Moscow. Addressing the congress, chairman of the party, Doctor of Economic Sciences Lyudmila Vartazarova, and delegates from the regions expressed the opinion that "under the present situation the Socialist Workers' Party is the sole left-wing party admitted to the elections" and it is necessary to use this opportunity "to unify those forces which are in favor of true democracy and social justice" and "to promote the party's ideas and aims."

The Revival Union, Congress of Russian Communities, public-political movements which are part of Congress of Left and Democratic Forces, Scientists for Democracy and Socialism were named as probable partners in the pre-election bloc. As far as different communist parties are concerned, "one should abstain from open contacts with them until their activity, though illegally, is suspended," said one of the co-chairmen of the party.

At the same time one of the delegates put forward a proposal to include member of the Central Executive Committee of the suspended RF [Russian Federation] communist party Boris Slavin in the federal list of the Socialist Workers' Party, however, this proposal failed to receive any support. Slavin sent the newspaper PRAVDA's regards to the congress: he is one of the leaders of the newspapers which, as he said, "will again appear in a week."

The congress adopted a resolution in the defense of freedom of word and openness and confirmed party lists of candidates to the deputies of the State Duma including members of several movements, part of Congress of Left Democratic Forces.

The Socialist Workers' Party was created in October, 1991 on the initiative of communist deputies of various levels.

Pre-Election 'Balance of Forces' Assessed

MK1910130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under the "Balance of Forces" rubric with general headline: "Election Campaign: The Kremlin Changes Rules of the Game Every Day"]

[Text] No doubt, it is the "Russia's Choice" bloc that should be called Number One among the democrats, and also the first candidate for victory in the elections. In fact, the bloc of Gaydar-Shumeyko-Poltoranin-Burbulis can be called the ruling party even at present. The December elections will only reinforce its supremacy, including in the legislative branch.

The most important drawback of Sergey Shakhray's party (the Russian Party for Unity and Accord [PRES]) is an almost complete lack of "its own" mass media and "its own" mass support base. Of course, Shakhray will find his way to the State Duma, but he is unlikely to take many of his candidates along. Such an outcome, however, will evidently not upset him: It is small secret that PRES is not a "parliamentary," but a "potentially presidential" party.

These two structures ("Russia's Choice" and PRES) will effectively cover the entire democratic electorate. The Russian Democratic Reform Movement may have some hope (several dozens of regional branches and the relatively popular Anatoliy Sobchak topping the list). The aspirations of the Christian Democratic Party, the New Russia, and August blocs should hardly be taken seriously.

Civic Union remains the unquestionable front-runner among the centrists, although it lost its political vanguard (the Free Russia-People's Party, which was banned by the Justice Ministry). Presently, it is the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the Renewal All-Russia Union that act as Civic Union's organizers, which guarantees this centrist coalition not only the maintenance of its traditional ties with domestic directors, but also patronage by some government members. Arkadiy Volskiy, Oleg Soskovets, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, Nikolay Petrakov, and some others are topping the list. Optimists from Civic Union expect to win 50 seats both at the State Duma and the Federation Council.

The strength of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc is in its leaders. Many people perceive these politicians as experienced statesmen worthy of top state posts. The bloc's plainly evident weakness is an almost complete lack of any solid structures of mass support in the regions. The Republican Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Union (which announced their support for Yavlinskiy)—all this is clearly not enough.

The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] will probably be damaged by the reputation of its leader, Nikolay Travkin, whose consistency manifests itself only in a constant change of partners and allies. But maybe the DPR's reputation will be propped up by people who follow Nikolay Travkin on the list: film director Stanislav Govorukhin, academician Oleg Bogomolov, and former ministers Aleksandr Titkin and Mikhail Fedotov.

With Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's departure, the Entrepreneurs for a New Russia association has lost all chances not only of playing any significant role in the elections, but also of taking an independent centrist stance. At any rate, in his recent interviews, its leader Konstantin Zatulin said that he was intent on backing Sergey Shakhray's party.

The Agrarian Party of Russia may also count on the centrist vote, relying on branches of the Agrarian Union. The party's list of candidates includes Chairman Mikhail Lapshin and Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who is responsible for agriculture.

In the near future another centrist electoral bloc may be founded—New Center—which is expected to be set up on the basis of the Russian Social Democratic Center and the Smena-New Policy movement. Optimists confidently name the first candidates of the new bloc: Oleg Rumyantsev, Pavel Voshchanov, Aleksandr Politkovskiy. Pessimists (or realists) claim that the bloc will break up even before it is officially founded.

Summing up the situation at the center of the political spectrum, one can state that it has become pretty crowded after the October events. This comes as no surprise: The center was broadened by the opposition parties, which shifted in this direction for tactical reasons (for instance, the Agrarian Party) and by the democrats who distanced themselves from the ultra-radical wing on moral grounds and for reasons of political hygiene (for instance, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy). It should be presumed that some of the candidates will manage to enter the new parliament under centrist slogans, but it is still an open question whether these people representing diverse blocs and parties will be able to form an effective faction.

For understandable reasons, there are not so many opposition parties and movements ready to take part in the elections. In fact, only one electoral bloc—the All-Russian Labor Union, which was set up by the Socialist Workers Party with the assistance of branch trade unions and the Union for Russia's Revival—has so far been formed. Undoubtedly, it may turn out to have a significant potential if its leaders win over all advocates of socialist and patriotic ideas.

All the other opposition communist and patriotic parties and movements that have not been banned (the Russian Party of Communists, the Union of Communists, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Russian All-People's Union) have at best only the resounding names of their leaders (Sergey Baburin, Viktor Aksyuchits), but they lack significant funds or serious structures in the regions. Opposition loyalists can hardly expect to win much more than a couple of dozens of deputy seats at the Federal Assembly.

On the contrary, the "caricature of the opposition"—the Liberal-Democratic Party under Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—does have chances of success. As Sergey Filatov's assistant conceded, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has not been perceived as an opposition figure for a long time by the presidential administration.

Suspension of Parties' Activities Viewed

PM1910135993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Otto Latsis: "'Emergency' Justice Against Backdrop of Election Campaign"]

[Text] The activity of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] and the "Free Russia" People's Party [FRPP] was suspended by a separate Ministry of Justice directive a few days after the announcement of the list of parties and movements banned because of their participation in the 3-4 October revolt. No particular questions arose in terms of the first group, the Barkashov and Anpilov supporters: Their direct involvement in the mass unrest involving arson attacks and killings is reflected in dozens of television news clips seen by the entire country. However, questions do arise in terms of the latter two parties. Let me make it clear: What follows is concerned with an analysis not of the legal arguments for the ban (that is a matter for the courts) but of the political circumstances.

The published document is extremely terse: Banned following representations from the commandant of the state of emergency district. This is only a repetition of the legal wording stipulated n the president's edict—it contains no information about the specific reasons for the ban. I made a conscientious effort to find out anything at all about the commandant's representations from several Ministry of Justice staffers from press secretary to deputy minister (the minister was away on a trip)—everybody answered that they could not report anything.

It is incomprehensible why is it necessary to conceal from citizens official information about crimes committed by the opposition while granting them the right to themselves proclaim their innocence. Incidentally, this has now become the norm: A number of government departments are systematically violating the Law on the Press by refusing to provide official information and forcing people to guess why they maintain press services, and then with one voice accusing the mass media of making use of conjecture, failing to show restraint, and so forth. Unfortunately, lacking any other possibility, I have had to resort to "conjecture" on this occasion too.

Things are made slightly easier by the fact that, as far as the CPRF is concerned, a great deal of conjecture is not required (not in terms of who was involved in shooting and how, of course—that I don't know; but in terms of who should share the political responsibility for the shooting). The leaders of the CPRF dragged the party into the National Salvation Front, which from day one of its existence blatantly set a course of using violence and played a most active part in the revolt. Incidentally, PRAVDA, a newspaper close to the CPRF, cannot duck responsibility for incitement to violence, irrespective of what you think about the ban on it. The following is just one of many questions which could be asked: The "Appeal by the Patriotic Intelligentsia to the People" published in PRAVDA on 30 September, three days before the revolt. It states: "Create a workers guard, send volunteers to defend the House of Soviets. The name "workers" was being taken in vain—"war wolves" were already speeding toward Moscow. There is an unequivocal legal term for texts of this kind: incitement to riot.

In the Russian television channel's "Contrasts" program on 17 October CPRF leader G. Zyuganov demonstrated that even after the tragedy nothing has shifted in his soul, he has not budged a millimeter from his previous position. When the commentator asked a direct question—how did present-day communists end up in the same ranks as fascists?—G. Zyuganov exploded in what, in this context, was a blasphemous tirade about his fellow villagers who died in the war against fascism. The point is not that most of his fellow villagers were hardly likely to have been communists. The point is that the communists who died in the struggle against fascism and the communists who joined forces with Barkashov's supporters have nothing in common except their name. Later on, in response to a direct question from the television commentator—since the CPRF does not recognize the present authorities as legal would it assent to ANY means of struggle against it?—G. Zyuganov did not say an unequivocal "No!" to violence. In a long and convoluted formula he merely renounced "illegal violence," but who does not know how easily politicians of G. Zyuganov's ilk declare any violence OF THEIR OWN to be legal.

This was said on the air at a most unsuitable time for people concerned about the party's legal status and its participation in the elections. But, you see, such an astute politician as G. Zyuganov cannot commit too obvious a mistake. Therefore, he is not particularly concerned at this time about legal status. Indeed, this course is tactically smart: Legality and participation in the elections following the defeat of the revolt do not promise success for those to blame for the bloodshed. By contrast, exclusion from the elections would provide political capital for the future for self-styled victims of "dictatorship." The only question is: If the CPRF's nonparticipation in the elections is of little concern to G. Zyuganov, should it worry politicians in the reformist part of the spectrum? After all, we are talking not only about rank-and-file CPRF members who did not take part in the revolt but also about voters who have not lost their faith in the "socialist" phraseology used by Zyuganov's supporters.

In this connection it is interesting to examine the working of the ban on yet another party: the FRPP. At first glance everything is clear here too: One of those mainly to blame for the bloodshed, A. Rutskoy, is designated as its founder. But for many months now the party—both within the leadership and in grass-roots organizations—has been witnessing the development of a conflict between the A. Rutskoy-V. Lipitskiy group and a group upholding a different course—G. Vodolazov, I. Pantin, B. Kapustin, and others. During the days between the edict of 21 September and the events of 3 October the split became obvious: V. Lipitskiy publicly condemned the edict "on behalf of the Board," while the intraparty opposition supported the edict and accused V. Lipitskiy of falsification, since there had been no meeting of the Board at all. After the revolt but before the Ministry of Justice decision on a ban, the opposition forced the resignation of both V. Lipitskiy and the entire Board.

So what has happened now? There are no bans on the "Free Russia" youth movement, which supported A. Rutskoy's course even more stridently than V. Lipitskiy. The 21 September statement by this movement's board contains not only an appeal to support A. Rutskoy and the Supreme Soviet but also crude abuse of the president. The group backing V. Lipitskiy—and he heads not only the FRPP but also "Civic Union"—could use "Civic Union" structures to participate in the election campaign. So who in what used to be "Rutskoy's party" has actually been deprived of the chance of participating in the elections in the wake of the ban on the FRPP? Only those who opposed Rutskoy's policy.

...Does everyone know which was the first party to register its list of candidates for the elections? The Liberal Democratic Party of V. Zhirinovskiy, who describes himself as a national socialist.

Military Issues

Defense Minister Sees Army Role in 'Civil War'

OW2010062793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Golubeva; from the "Utro" program—recorded]

[Text] [Golubeva] There have been all kinds of patriotisms in Russia throughout its history— superpower, white, red, and brown patriotism and patriotism for Stalin and the motherland. At last, the time has now also come in our country when there are many parties, different parties, so you can choose the one that suits you. You can even change from one party to another and nobody but your closest colleagues will condemn you for this. And probably most important of all, you do not have to be a member of any party at all.

[Aleksandr Kotenev, chairman of the Union of Veterans of Afghanistan] The people should be the main thing in political life while patriotism can be a reality only when it is part of the administrative organs. Pinochet, who was the target of our criticism for a long time, had some interesting comments. The first point in his declaration was the statement that man comes from God, the second that man forms society, and the third that society forms a state. So the state is tertiary in relationship to man. If a state does not serve man then this state is not worthy of being a state.

[Golubeva] These people are veterans of the war in Afghanistan. These were the men, about a hundred of them, or a military company, who came unarmed to the White House with the defense minister in the first six BTR's [armored personnel carrier]. And only when directed fire broke out from the White House did these men, these veterans of war, take weapons from the young green soldiers who they sent to take cover under the armored vehicles.

Pavel Sergeyevich, what has happened has happened, I mean the mutiny. It is good that the Army conducted itself the way it did, but we have to draw conclusions and we must look to the future.

[Grachev] You understand that at the present time articles of doctrine are being worked out, and this includes the use of the Army. When a situation approaches civil war, when human blood is being spilled, then of course the Army will not stay on the sidelines in the future either. Now, whether or not there is a need for special units in the Army for this, for such affairs, I do not think so. There is no need to train a second, to train subunits which duplicate interior troops.

General Defends Political Role of Army

OW2010070093 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0200 GMT 17 Oct 93

[Statement by Major General V. M. Dudnik, chairman of the public council of the "Army and Society" discussion group; from the "Aty Baty" program—recorded]

[Text] The idea that the army, the Soviet Army, the Army of the Russian Federation, is outside politics is a false one to begin with. The army never was, cannot be, and never will be outside politics. This is the most powerful, most sharp, and most decisive argument in politics. The position being formulated now, that the army is the guarantor of stability and social order for the state, is a political one.

The idea has been put forward that the army today must not put on a show of force. However, this passive and apparently immobile position is also political.

Army policy is determined by the events taking place within and the actions of the leadership echelons. I would put it this way: The army never supports the weak; the army always supports real power. That is why it currently supports that authority and those structures which found they had the real levers of power. That is the first condition. Second, it will support the power which shows a real readiness to raise its status; third, it will support the power which is ready to implement a moral cleansing away of the dead weight it has inherited. Today, this function is being carried out by the president and his team.

Differences Delay Adoption of Military Doctrine

MK1910115393 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Ilya Bulavinov report: "The Draft Military Doctrine Does Not Satisfy the Kremlin"]

[Text] Contrary to statements made at the recent Security Council session, the Russian military doctrine was not adopted last week although it was expected to have been finally approved over the weekend. KOMMERSANT-DAILY sources suggest that the postponement of the date for the approval of this document has been caused not by inattention on the part of the power structures to the needs of the national army but by disagreements between politicians and the military on certain aspects of the future military doctrine.

The seed of discord between the Defense Ministry and the country's top leadership was the military's position on the use of armed forces "to restore and maintain the country's internal security." Both the supreme command and the bulk of the officer corps categorically reject the possibility of the army's being used internally. The "undesirability" of such an approach by the military was noted at the latest Security Council session and at Wednesday's Defense Ministry conference chaired by Viktor Chernomyrdin.

It is this contradiction that apparently caused the delay in approving the military doctrine. At the same time, the army is already taking guidance from other provisions of the would-be doctrine and they will hardly be substantially revised in the future.

As of now Russia does not regard any state or coalition of states as an adversary; the threat of a nuclear war is assessed as minimal. The main danger is posed by local wars caused by territorial, economic, interethnic, and religious contradictions.

Within the next two years the Russian Army will continue to be downsized: By 1995 its overall strength is to be 1.5 million servicemen. Work will continue on transferring the army to a mixed recruitment principle (by conscription and by contract). It is expected that the foundation of the armed forces will be constituted by forward-based forces (while no large troop groupings will be preserved in border zones), mobile general purpose forces (their potential should ensure the possibility of their timely buildup and use to repulse aggression), and the strategic reserve.

One of the major intractable problems confronting the Defense Ministry is the fulfillment of defense production orders in the context of an economic crisis, since there is still a need to develop new projects and partially reequip the army. As it has been deemed inexpedient to further maintain a huge nuclear capability, center stage is being taken up by the problem of conventional arms development. Stress is being laid on reducing the diversity of weapon systems.

The doctrine is based on the principles of war prevention and a peaceful settlement of international contradictions, while the use of military forces is regarded as an exception. Since the army's participation in a large-scale nuclear war appears unlikely, the authors believe that it should be prepared to conduct local combat operations.

Furthermore, the military has had its way in including in the document a provision guaranteeing adequate social protection to servicemen. This gives the Defense Ministry additional levers to influence the Council of Minister which will have (after the doctrine has been officially adopted) to address the army's problems more actively.

[Article is accompanied by following boxed passage]

Commentary by the International Political Department

One of the main reasons for the creation of the military doctrine is the pressure on the part of the military industrial complex, which justly believes that the doctrine must define priorities for the development of the defense industry. In his turn Boris Yeltsin, immediately after the October events, called for the doctrine to adopted as a matter of urgency: that was to meet the growing ambitions of the power structures. But so as not to remain only on paper, the doctrine should not only raise new tasks but also propose concrete ways to deal with them. Moreover, the financing of defense projects should be carried out in accordance with the plan presented. The document, however, has not so far moved beyond the framework of theoretical propositions.

The doctrine comprises three main sections. In the military political part there is no mention of a concrete threat: Defense is to be maintained on all lines. The external threat is subdivided into local and large-scale wars and also conflicts. But in contrast to the U.S. doctrine, which has a clear-cut criterion of the army's combat readiness—the ability to win simultaneously in two major regional conflicts—in the Russian variant this criterion is absent. Experts believe, however, that Russia's victory in a large-scale war today is possible only in a coalition: It can simultaneously be engaged in localizing two to three conflicts or in one local war or localizing of one conflict. Incidentally, the doctrine does not define the very notion of local war (for the United States this is a war where four to five divisions, four to five marine brigades, up to 100 heavy bombers, and up to 10 air formations are engaged; therefore it is easy to calculate the resources required to support the requisite defense capability). The question of including a preventive strike in the doctrine also remains a matter of controversy in Russia; no mention is made of the specifics of regional military organization in a new international situation.

The military technical section does not specify the structure for the development and production of arms which could become a guideline for the military industrial complex and also for financing new programs. So far the document contains only general phraseology about the need to develop the defense complex taking market conditions into account. The proposition on developing new types of arms at world levels was rejected as not corresponding to the country's present-day capabilities.

The military section of the doctrine provides for a revision of the structure of disposition of troops, with preference being given to a system of mobile formations (similar to U.S. rapid deployment forces). There is no more concrete idea about the structure of the armed forces yet. In the United States it has already been elaborated: Grounds forces, for example, should include up to 10 mobilized divisions and 15 reserve brigades; Marines should include three mobilized divisions: the Navy should have 11 strike aircraft carriers at the head of combats groups; and the Air Force should have 13 air formations (plus seven in reserve). The authors of the Russian doctrine would like to preserve the existing system of military districts—"for material and technical support of mobile groupings." The document passes over in silence, however, the fact that the introduction of these groupings may contradict the Treaty "On the Limitation of Conventional Arms and Armed Forces in Central Europe" which establishes rigid limits on military equipment and forces in the European parts of the former USSR. Therefore complications are looming over the concentration of Russian military formations in the Northern Caucasus, which is explicable from the point of view of Russia's national security but violates the treaty.

Air Defense Forces Commander Discusses Problems, Plans

PM1910144393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel General Boris Dukhov, commander of the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces, by military observer Colonel Gennadiy Miranovich; place and date not given: "Military Building: Battlefield Air Defense Forces. A Burden to the Forces or 'Instant Action Forces'?"]

[Text] No matter what kind of mobile, maneuverable, and other structures based on modern military trends might appear in our country in the course of the Army's reform, they will be unable to manage without reliable protection against air strikes. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's military observer and Colonel General Boris Dukhov, commander of the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces, discuss the problems which have emerged recently in this context and the way they can be solved.

From KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's files: Boris Innokentyevich Dukhov. Born in Krasnoyarsk in 1937. Graduated from the Kiev Higher Artillery Engineering School in 1959 and from the General Staff Military Academy in 1977. He has commanded an antiaircraft missile regiment, air defense forces in several military districts, and the southwest sector [napravleniye] air defense forces, and was head of the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces Academy. He has held his present post since October 1991.

[Miranovich] Boris Innokentyevich, one comes across all sorts of entries on browsing through the 35-year-old history of the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces. Egypt, Syria, Vietnam, Iraq.... Our systems have traveled almost everywhere during the times of "thaw," "stagnation," and "perestroyka." As a matter of fact, why talk only of the last 35 years? After all, the history of warfare shows that we had to protect ourselves against battlefield air strikes way back during World War I. And, as far as we know, that was done quite effectively, using both firearms and the 76-mm antiairplane gun which was in service at that time. The red antiaircraft gunners earned credit for themselves also during the civil war. Look no further than the famous "Steel Antiairplane" armored train.... Why is it that the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces do not date back to those times?

[Dukhov] Speaking of the emergence of battlefield air defense forces in general, you are right: They should date back to the "distant past." It all actually started with the aforementioned antiairplane gun, designed by Frants [Frantsevich] Lender and manufactured by the Putilov Plant in 1914. The postrevolutionary history of our forces begins with 36 of these guns, inherited by the Workers and Peasants Red Army from the old army.

In 1923, by order of the Revolutionary Military Council, the antiairplane artillery was renamed antiaircraft artillery. In 1958, the antiaircraft artillery and radar units were removed from the artillery to form an autonomous category of forces. Thus, in August of this year, the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces celebrated their actual 35th birthday.

[Miranovich] Last summer, while visiting the "Emba" test site where our missile systems are "run in," I saw how well antiaircraft gunners were treated by the combined-arms commanders (Colonel Rashid Tyagirov, chief of the Combat Practice Training Center, even had to "activate" the medical team on duty). They meticulously rehearsed all problems associated with the protection of combat formations of regiments, divisions, and armies against air strikes. I have seen—and I cannot but remember—television films showing the U.S. Air Force's domination in the Persian Gulf conflict zone. And how about the famous clips from our wartime documentaries? Do you recall how Hitler's carrion-crows literally hunted down our fighting men and single aircraft? They hunted them down with impudence and impunity....

[Dukhov] The danger nowadays lies not so much in the airplane but in the weapons it can use without entering the air defense zone—all kinds of guided bombs, cruise missiles, and so on.

So, how about the clips? They do, of course, tell a sad story. Due to the huge losses it suffered at its bases, our fighter aviation was unable to provide cover for the ground forces, and the main burden at the start of the war was borne by the forces' antiaircraft artillery, the Supreme Commander in Chief's Reserve, and the units and subunits of Air Defense Forces in district (frontline) zones. The prescribed strength level of rifle divisions and corps provided for one antiaircraft artillery battery (18 guns) each. But even these levels were not achieved. Yet Hitler threw into the battle more than 5,000 combat aircraft at once.

Nonetheless, our frontline antiaircraft gunners destroyed more than 3,500 enemy aircraft during the first year of the war. By the end of the war the German aces had lost all their appetite for the "hunt."

[Miranovich] Much has changed since then—I mean the potential of air attack systems capable of hitting military targets throughout the forces' operational formations, as well as the redefinition of priorities in the building of our Army in favor of enhancing the mobility of its components. It is understandable that one of the distinguishing features of the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces must be the permanent readiness to redeploy and perform combat tasks in any conditions. In other words, the Air Defense Forces' battlefield systems must be highly versatile, if I may use this expression: They should be airmobile with a standard fuel base and the maximum possible supply of fuel, ammunition, and so on. I know that work along this avenue is in progress and that the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces are ahead of the country's Air Defense Forces stationary systems, but.... When you see modern missile systems being loaded using an ordinary construction site crane, you get kind of mad.

[Dukhov] On the topic of versatility—it depends on how you look at it. During World War I, when airplane speeds did not exceed 100 km per hour and flight altitudes did not exceed 3,000 meters, the Putilov gun (with its rate of fire of 10-12 rounds per minute and maximum range of 5,000 meters—G.M.), as you yourself mentioned at the start of our conversation, was perfectly suitable. Nor were we a burden during World War II. Suffice it to recall, for example, the counteroffensive near Stalingrad, when our antiaircraft artillery operated directly in marching and combat formations of the mobile groups which developed the breakthrough. Yes, by today's standards—when virtually all categories of forces are airmobile and combat with the airborne enemy acquires the features of a battle between electronic systems—it was not versatile. But at that time.... Let me tell you that, beginning with the counteroffensive near Stalingrad, our frontline antiaircraft gunners were shooting down more than 500 enemy aircraft each month.

How about the present? You have seen for yourself: We have highly maneuverable antiaircraft missile systems [AMS] which can instantly occupy or abandon a position when escorting troops during their redeployment, or launch missiles (like the Thor AMS, for example) quickly and directly from the transportation container. Against this background, the famous S-75 AMS which was used to shoot down the U.S. spy Powers back in 1961 looks like a mastodon. After all, all the S-75 combat units were deployed on trailers and were linked to one another by cables....

[Miranovich] But the tasks of today's systems are incomparably more complex as well. Furthermore, what is an AMS? It comprises radar stations, computers, and other components which are quite vulnerable to modern weapons. Let us recall the famous "airwaves storm" which preceded the offensive in the Persian Gulf. The Americans delivered such a radioelectronic blow against Iraq that radio channels were jammed even on the territory of the USSR's southern military districts.

[Dukhov] Our systems are sufficiently resistant to interference. Furthermore, we ourselves have the capacity to destroy the sources of such interference at a range of up to 200 km. Nonetheless, a "radio blockade" could hinder operations by the Air Defense Forces themselves, as well as their collaboration with the aviation and their neighbors. Moreover, the communications channels in the command and control system which are fitted with old radio equipment—some 36 percent of the total—are not interference-protected. Of course, our mobile systems are less vulnerable to radar combat systems than the stationary ones. But it must also be borne in mind that the use of radar combat systems as part of mobile groupings will be hindered by the latter's high maneuverability and dynamism of operations. Thus, the battlefield air defense forces' men, equipment, and weapons must be more than just mobile. In order to prevent us becoming a burden to the forces, we must learn to autonomously wage radar combat, operate in conditions of uncertainty when the location of combatants is extremely unstable and can be fixed only briefly without any firm coordinates, and gather intelligence at speed. We are in the process of drawing up such recommendations for the forces—mobility should mean more than just the ability to mechanically move various installations. It should also mean the ability of all components of the forces and command units at all levels to rapidly respond to the situation and seize the initiative ahead of the enemy, thus surprising him. In other words, we perceive the battlefield air defense forces as instant action forces.

[Miranovich] It sounds wonderful....

[Dukhov] I understand your irony: Loading a missile system with a construction site crane and so on. Unfortunately, we have more than enough problems, including technical ones. It must also be borne in mind that, should anything happen, the pool of auxiliary equipment and other series-produced equipment can be quickly replenished. But the elimination of the consequences of cutbacks in research and development, which are regularly occurring today due to shortage of funds (not more than 15 percent of the funds needed to continue research and development have been allocated) will take time.

We are particularly worried by command and control problems, especially by the gap between the time needed to make decisions and assign tasks and the actual potential or air attack systems and air defense systems. Due to the shortage of automated control systems (about 70 percent in the tactical branch and 40 percent in the operations branch) which are still being produced in Belarus, commanders at various levels are on numerous occasions forced to use nonautomated or manual command and control methods. It is downright immoral to use the famous plotting boards to try and control our wonder-systems and installations like S-300B, "Buk," and "Thor" which are capable of simultaneously tracking and attacking dozens of targets flying at speeds of 10,000 km per hour and more.

The prescribed strength levels of command and control organs, established dozens of years ago, also need to be reviewed. They are no longer in line with either the new combat composition of the forces formed during the reorganization or the present-day status and tasks of air defense forces. How, for example, can two or three men—which is all an army corps air defense chief has at his disposal—ensure leadership of the men, equipment, and weapons under his command? The same situation prevails in the corresponding directorates of our forces at military districts, which are meeting their manpower acquisition needs from air defense units and subunits being withdrawn from abroad. Let alone the problems of manpower acquisition for the troops in general and their equipment—we are no different from all the rest.

Nonetheless, turning back to the question of mobility and effectiveness, I would make so bold as to note that we are capable of achieving much even in these conditions. Probably the best proof of this was provided by last year's exercise in solving tactical antimissile defense tasks, the first such exercise in our history, which was held at the "Emba" test site under the leadership of Andrey Kokoshin, Russia's first deputy defense minister. By way of airborne targets we used models based on contemporary and future air attack systems, including ballistic and cruise missiles. The antiaircraft gunners proved their worth also in conditions of mass use of air attack systems, including concentrated strikes by precision weapons, at the recently held exercise which was attended by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff. Incidentally, this was more or less what you saw at last summer's firing exercises at the combat training practice center.

[Miranovich] Yes, that was indeed a demonstration of what could be described as instantaneous and—and this is the main point—effective response by antiaircraft gunners to an equally rapidly changing situation in the air. First of all, however, you must agree that this was partly due to certain unrealistic simulations which are always present during training and exercises. Second, the units there were only fragments, so to say, of the modern Ground Forces Air Defense Forces. So how do you perceive the picture as a whole?

[Dukhov] I think that they should be not necessarily numerically strong but well-trained forces equipped with modern equipment providing utmost air mobility. Organizationally, they could comprise district, army, division, and brigade systems and Supreme Commander in Chief Reserves (to reinforce the air defense forces of groups of forces in certain sectors and mobile forces). It would be expedient to have standard units with different weapons and different personnel structures, depending on their set tasks, conditions, and sectors.

[Miranovich] And what could you say about the air defense of Russian troops in "hot spots" like, for example, the air defense forces of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division in Tajikistan? Or are we proceeding from the premise that the situation there will be exactly the same as in Afghanistan in the past, when nothing flew over us?

[Dukhov] As far as Afghanistan is concerned, the 40th Army did, of course, have its air defense units. Thus many of our officers have firsthand knowledge of that war. Incidentally, Col. Tagirov, whom you mentioned earlier and who now heads the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces Combat Practice Training Center, commanded an antiaircraft missile regiment in Afghanistan.

Yes, aviation was not used against us there. But this does not at all mean that the antiaircraft gunners were there on a free ride. It may well be that the relatively quiet skies in Afghanistan were actually due to their presence there. They were on combat alert duty and controlled the airspace jointly with the Afghan Air Defense Forces. Do you recall the legendary "Shilka," without which not a single major operation could manage.... I am not going to dispute the fact that, due to the absence of constant threat from the air, some combined-arms commanders got careless. Others acquired this as a habit. Actually, this is to a certain extent the reason behind the occasional excessively unrealistic simulations during exercises and the painful state of some colonels and general during fire practice.

Now as regards today's "hot spots." Our forces are on a state of combat readiness wherever they may be stationed. As you have already noted, antiaircraft gunners do not participate directly in combat operations. What does the 201st Division's Air Defense Force comprise? State-of-the-art systems: the "Osa," ZPU-23-4, and "Shilka" AMS's, the ZU-23 antiaircraft system, and the "Igla" portable antiaircraft missile system. By way of an example: The "Osa" AMS is capable of destroying airborne targets flying at speeds of up to 1,800 km per hour and at altitudes ranging from 25 meters to 5 km. The time taken to deploy the battery from transportation mode to combat mode is four to five minutes. The fighting vehicle which actually carries all the AMS's components is capable of detecting the airborne enemy while on the move or afloat, as well as of firing at brief intervals.

I do not think that such equipment would be a burden to the forces.

I hope that this does not pose a threat to the Ground Forces Air Defense Forces as a whole. Despite the considerable difficulties, we will continue supplying them with modern weapons.

Military's Role in Space Program Examined

PM1910122593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0850 GMT 16 Oct 93

[Report by Aleksandr Galkin; from the "Aerospace Salon" program]

[Text] [Galkin] This is the Baykonur Cosmodrome. Baykonur marks the beginning of the history of Russia's Military Space Forces in 1955, although they emerged as an independent structure much later, at the beginning of the eighties. Initially, they were known as space units.

The jurisdiction of the Military Space Forces, if I may put it this way, currently encompasses the Baykonur Cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, Plesetsk in Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Main Command and Telemetry Complex in Moscow Oblast, and tracking stations located between the western borders and Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands, and also various backup services. It is possible to say openly now that it was the military which secured all the space launches from the first Sputnik to international space crew missions. I recall with embarrassment how, under pressure of censorship, we forced officers and servicemen to change into civilian clothes, how entire sequences were edited out of broadcasts if a service cap could be glimpsed somewhere in the background. This was at a time when the military's participation in the Soviet space program was no longer a secret anywhere in the world. They were true outcasts—in the words of a Baykonur song—stripped even of their uniform and title. Thankfully, the military space units are no longer required to engage in a masquerade now. This does not mean in the least, however, that there are no real secrets left. Doubtless they do exist, and they are as closely guarded as before.

The very first steps in rocket technology showed that without tracking the object in question, without precise trajectory measurements it was impossible to perform experiments, let alone combat launches. Naturally, the advent of spacecraft called for a more powerful command and telemetry complex, capable not only of tracking the progress of a satellite or a manned spacecraft in orbit but also of controlling their flight, transmitting orders to the spacecraft, receiving information from space, and forecasting flight parameters. Every space launch is preceded by complex, painstaking preparations. Scientists, communications personnel, navigators, and geologists compile a flight program. And military ballistics experts use this program as the basis for calculating timings for blast-off, payload separation and orbit insertion, optimum trajectories, timings of dockings and undockings in the case of manned flights, and much else besides. However, no matter how carefully and painstakingly the preliminary mathematical models are calculated, the satellites and spacecraft are launched into orbits which are merely an approximation of the calculated orbits. The reasons for this are many: the unevenness of the earth's gravitation, varying atmospheric friction, and bursts of solar activity. All these little deviations have to be measured and incorporated in a program of necessary corrections. Incidentally, solar flares raise such a powerful solar wind that even the highly buoyant Mir orbital station loses several kilometers of altitude. It is once again the military which takes these orbital measurements. Commands from the flight control center in Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast, to activate vernier engines are transmitted via their communication channels.

According to specialist information, more than 7,500 disused satellites, delivery vehicle fragments, nose fairings, and other items of space garbage are currently orbiting the earth. Pollution in space is not as harmless as might appear at first glance. Collision with debris at a speed of 28,000 kilometer per hour liable to cause the destruction of very expensive satellites, or worse. A metal fragment could pierce a manned spacecraft right through. So the military operators have to track even nonoperational objects and adjust launch timings to avoid trouble. Should a serious accident occur in space, specialists at the command and telemetry complex define in advance the likely touchdown area and, if possible, divert the endangered payload to a higher orbit.

The highest skills are needed to manage space facilities. These cannot be acquired in a year or two. This is one of the Military Space Forces' key problems today. After all, officers are retired just like elsewhere in the Army at the age of 45 to 50. Yet at this age mathematicians, ballistics experts, and programmers are at the height of their creative power. The Russian Military Space Forces are currently pinning great hopes on contract service, which would make it possible to hold on to the vast intellectual potential accumulated in the subunits. For example, doctors of sciences and several dozen candidates of sciences are currently working at the Main Center. However, for the time being their scientific degrees are not being rewarded. At the same time, commercial structures are very willing to engage military programmers and pay them considerably more than the officers responsible for keeping near-earth space tidy are getting. How can this unique system, as yet unaffected by state borders and capable of coping with any problems apart from political ones, be preserved? Unquestionably the staffing problems are complex, but hopefully they are not insoluble. After all, appropriations for space programs are already producing tangible returns in the implementation of national economic and military tasks. Unfortunately our history is full of examples where in order to make small savings we later lost out heavily. Space systems must not be allowed to fall hostage to the ruble.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Improving Payments

LD1910193293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1826 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on

Tuesday "on improvement of payments in economy and enhancing the responsibility for their timely execution."

The decree was signed for purposes of overcoming the insolvency crisis in order to prevent further growth of overdue debts to enterprises and organisations. The decree is aimed at enhancing the responsibility of juridical entities for the observance of financial discipline.

Considering the work carried out by the government and Russia's Central Bank in this sphere to be unsatisfactory, Boris Yeltsin has entrusted corresponding ministries and departments to take concrete measures to improve the situation.

According to the president's press service, these measures include tightening sanctions for unsubstantiated delay in payments, a review by commercial banks of all outstanding credit debts of enterprises and organisations of all kinds of property as of November 1, 1993 by issuing long-term promissory notes of a single pattern, free trade of promissory notes at securities' market, the organisation of permanent promissory notes auctions and combining the procedure of bankruptcy with forcible privatisation of insolvent enterprises.

Gaydar Interviewed on Economic Issues

LD1910230393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 19 Oct 93

[INTERFAX "exclusive interview" with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar on 19 October; place not given]

[Text] First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar was speaking an exclusive interview with Interfax [IF] on Tuesday.

IF: As number one candidate on the list of Russia's Choice [RC] alliance in elections to the State Duma, how do you gauge your own chances of winning the election campaign and the RC's prospects of forming a parliamentary majority?

Gaydar: I do not have a feeling it will all be plain sailing. I think we have a good chance. We say how things really are and the people can see that. We know what we do, what must be done and how to do it. We believe in the people's common sense which helps them to discern a hollow promise well enough. Some time ago, it was easy to win a seat by promising a pie in the sky. Not any longer now. We made a hard choice by declaring that the economy could not be sacrificed to politics. It is a responsible step and I hope it will be taken as such on the ground.

IF: You plunged into a flurry of political activity as soon as you staged a comeback to the government which gave rise to some criticism that you were neglecting your main duties. What exactly is your area of responsibility?

Gaydar: I am responsible for economic reforms and general economic policies and in control of the economics ministry, the economic reform and economic culture centers, the government statistical committee and a number of ministries and departments. I am also responsible for ways of implementing government programs.

IF: Being in charge of the previous cabinet (April-December 1992), you had constantly stressed that any successful reform was hinged on sensible and pragmatic budget policies. Do you think you now have a clue to resolving the problem of the country's budget deficit?

Gaydar: This year's deficit is caused by high government spending. We continue to spend a lot on import subsidies and easy term and high seasonal credits. Or in other words, we have a case of excessive government support to state-run enterprises. And that is exactly where we should try to cut spending. At the same time, social spending can hardly be described as excessive. In fact, it is less that it should be in some areas. I am worried at huge expenditure on less efficient types of activity which is the main stumbling block on the way to financial stabilization.

IF: Is there any fear that your attempt to try to change the situation by slashing subsidies may run against stout resistance?

Gaydar: But we have already started the process by deciding to free bread prices thereby removing grain subsidies. A decision was also taken on a gradual lifting of government subsidy for housing though housing construction is not yet in question. Initially, it is very important to get the tenants' participation in the maintenance and upkeep of housing which will take five years to implement. We cannot afford shifting to a situation when people become house buyers, but we will do gradually. But housing for more vulnerable groups must be cheap. We also decided to remove all import subsidies except medicine.

IF: What about food imports?

Gaydar: I do not see any reason why we should subsidize farm producers of other countries. In theory, everyone spells out support to austerity measures whenever it comes to cutbacks in spending. But when it comes to practice, difficulties mount by hundred-fold.

IF: Proposals were made recently on a fairly high level in favor of a pay freeze...

Gaydar: That's not true. The proposal related not to a wage freeze but a special mechanism for regulating incomes. It has been in force since 1992 though as supplement to help carry out the policy of stabilization. The question is one of trying to tie wages to performance. Frankly speaking, I am opposed to a wage freeze at present. But this is not to say, I oppose the idea as such. I do not think it can be implemented now or in the next few months.

IF: Your opponents maintain the tight financial policy is the root cause of upheavals in the country's economy. What do you make of this?

Gaydar: The austerity financial policy as such had existed only in the first half of 1992 being relaxed in the second half. The soft financial policy is behind the country's hardships today. I am deeply convinced and our CIS counterparts can serve as an example that a soft crediting and monetary policy is a soft road to economic disaster.

IF: Can the reverse be also true that a harsh financial policy can become a harsh road to economic catastrophe to use your own jargon?

Gaydar: No. Realities evolve in a different way. This can only happen when we work out different models. Anything can happen in theory. But in this case, I just say: go and see what happens in Ukraine and Estonia. This puts an end to any questions.

IF: Isn't there a danger of inflation being spread to Russia from other CIS states?

Gaydar: Not at the moment because our monetary systems are separate. But there is a risk given the prospect of creating a common ruble zone. That is why we believe the ruble zone can be effective only if firm guarantees are given that such an inflation will not be allowed to spread on to Russia. Apart from a mere declaration of intent to prevent this from happening, strict monitoring is needed of how the accords reached are implemented.

Republics which want to stick to the ruble zone will have to renounce sovereignty in financial policies. The Central Bank of Russia must be solely in charge at least for an interim period until appropriate financial institutions have been set up. I would like to emphasize we do not want to impose the zone on anyone. It is up to each CIS state whether to join and stay away from the new ruble zone which as any other financial zone has its own laws which must be observed.

IF: It is widely believed that the non-payment by plants is one of the big troubles plaguing the Russian economy...

Gaydar: I beg to differ. Much too often, assessments are made proceeding from nominal parameters such as the difference in current and past debts. But the final sum is also affected by inflation. In reality, one should proceed from the amount of current accounts and GNP. True, the problem does exist but current accounts increase faster than debt.

There are three aspects at least as far as the non-payment issue is concerned. To begin with, serious imbalances occur because of government non-payment. The government often orders something it cannot pay for. This should no longer be tolerated. If you can't afford it, do not promise. Everyone knows that wringing out a promise can be damaging, let alone useless. But in practice, everyone tries to do so for political or other reasons. Once a promise is made, the government is told to keep it later.

The second problem is a combined CIS debt to Russia. The thing is many plants have continued exports to other CIS states either dismissing or not realizing that Russia's and CIS monetary systems are now held apart. They hoped that someone will pay for those exports. The CIS defaults on fuel imports from Russia is the main problem. The government owes 25 percent of the debt to Gasprom company with the rest being owed by other CIS countries.

And finally, the current debt run by enterprises against each other which they hope to be able to clear at the cost of government subsidies.

IF: What exactly is the government going to do in the near future to achieve financial stabilization?

Gaydar: Part of what must be done I have mentioned before. But serious financial imbalances occur in several areas. In the first place, these include inflation, enormous government spending for imports and state-run enterprises. We now try to find opportunities for the incorporation of non-budgetary spending in the budget and to mobilize additional revenues for the purpose. We now take stock of what has been left of the non-budgetary funds.

We have annulled a number of government resolutions not covered by real earnings. We are also reviewing a range of federal programs to try to readjust them to what we can really afford. The government is working out a capital investment plan for the first quarter of next year. A decision was also taken to raise the public's share of burden in resolving the problem of housing as I said before.

At the same time, we are working over long-range programs for economic restructuring especially in areas where inflationary pressure is very big. The government is considering the closure of some of the coal pits and roll back of less efficient mining projects. This places the need for creating new plants while people will have to be resettled from unemployment-affected areas.

IF: Don't you think this may cause a wave of strikes?

Gaydar: As a matter of fact, the volume of strike activity isn't big as it may seem and has in the past two years remained at the level of 1991. We manage to sort out many of the problems before they grow to such an extent as to cause a strike.

Soskovets Urges New Approaches to Privatization

LD1910211593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Russian Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets called for additional analysis of ways and means of privatisation in Russia before entering its next stage.

The vice premier was speaking at the international congress "Privatisation in Russia", he said it was necessary to switch from a formal change of the owner, which was often the case in the early phase of the privatisation process in Russia, to a process of boosting the efficiency of privatized enterprises, changing methods of management and granting greater financial independence to these enterprises.

Soskovets pointed to specifics of the privatisation process in the Russian national economy, such as the existence of more than 50 thousand major enterprises and several hundreds of medium-sized and small enterprises and the monopoly domination in most economic sectors. He then stressed a special role of the government in forming priorities, stimulating the development of privatized enterprises and coordinating their activity within the frame of the structural policy pursued by the government.

Soskovets called for the establishment of special foundations to accumulate financial resources, fund current programmes and manage property on trust. This approach, according to Soskovets, would allow to partially lift the burden off the state budget and ensure the necessary flow on financing to the most important programmes of Russia's development.

Gerashcenko Speaks on Stabilization Measures, Inflation

LD1910162593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1431 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By BUSINESS-TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct—By the end of 1993 Russia's GNP will have fallen by 18-20 percent, while inflation will amount to 1,000 percent, the chairman of Russia's Central Bank, Viktor Gerashchenko, said today in an address to the opening session of the international conference on banking in Russia. He noted that the Central Bank had kept its promise to pursue a policy of tough financial stabilization. Inflation, however, remained high because of numerous nonmonetary factors, including deregulation of prices for fuel and grain.

The Central Bank chairman noted that the main reasons for the fall in industrial production were the shortage of working capital at enterprises, failure to make proper allowance for the depreciation of obsolete basic assets, and monopoly practices in many industries which are the principal driving force behind increasing prices. He said that the Russian economy was not reacting properly to the financial stabilization measures. This means that there must be a reduction, albeit gradual rather than sudden, in the supply of credit intended to prevent the possibility of collapse.

In determining the main parameters of monetary and credit policy for 1994, the Central Bank continues to set the rate of increase in the money supply at a level which is substantially below inflation. It expects to continue its policy of refusing to grant preferential credit, which in 1993 has reached 70 percent of the total.

Gerashchenko also stressed the importance of restricting the allocation of interest-free credit to the government, a goal which should be achieved through expanding the market in short-term state bonds and other operations on the open money market.

Paper Views Impact of Moves Against 'Dollarization'

PM1910150993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Oct 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Belichenkov article under the "Money" rubric: "Cash Dollars After Christmas"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia instruction banning the use of cash dollars as a means of payment was long expected. By all accounts, the appearance of this document was successfully pushed for by the Ministry of Finance. In an interview in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Vice Premier Boris Fedorov once described the fight against the dollarization of Russia as a point of honor for him. And yet the reaction to this measure even in government circles was pretty varied and nervous.

However, the Russian Federation Central Bank instruction, while substantially reducing the number of financial loopholes for both commercial and banking structures and recipents of illegal hard currency earnings, does not affect the interests of the bulk of the population. We are experiencing the proliferation of a standard ploy whereby a store which has no permit to sell goods for hard currency posts price-lists in dollars while a bank very friendly to the store opens up an in-store bureau de change and at the same time an illegal current account for the store which remains unknown to the tax inspectorate. The bulk of transactions are carried out using this account without payment of any taxes whatsover.

After 1 January for a certain category of citizens the receipt of currency from not entirely legal activity will be accompanied by substantial problems: To spend the currency you will have to take it to a bank and obtain a bank card [kreditnaya kartochka]. It would be a very good thing if banks were to take an interest in the source of origin of funds. For the time being, alas, we are quite a long way from that. But even the fact that the currency resources of certain citizens are necessarily located in a bank will now substantially ease the work of the law-enforcement agencies.

Let's not try to guess what proportion of the $3-5 billion now in the hands of the population was obtained illegally. The main point is that a considerable part of that sum will be in banks and will produce an income both for depositors and the banks and—via the tax system—for the state.

It is easy to see that this measure is highly beneficial to trading structures which accept electronic payment (bank cards) and the banks which issue the cards. On the other hand, the reduction in demand for cash dollars and the increase in demand for cash rubles could affect the correlation of their rates to the ruble's advantage.

It is gratifying that this measure was introduced in a very civilized way—citizens were given three months to decide what to do with their currency in cash. Those who want to keep their money in a sock need not lose sleep—the world market outside Russia and the black market inside Russia are always at their service.

It is noteworthy that the removal of the dollar from cash circulation could perfectly well be regarded, albeit by indirect signs, as the start of financial stabilization, given that the state is clearly working toward reducing its fiscal claims. The involvement of First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar and Vice Premier Boris Fedorov in the fight against the dollarization of Russia is quite obvious. However, the reformists are passing over in silence a pretty ticklish issue.

An unnatural state for the economy has hitherto been maintained whereby the ruble:dollar rate is close to stabilization (the fall in August-September was under 20 percent) while domestic ruble prices for this same period continued to soar (the inflation rate for August-September was around 60 percent). Consequently, a transaction whereby rubles are purchased for dollars and then left on deposit for three months, those rubles then being used to purchase dollars, yields currency-holders a 180-200 percent annual rate of interest, which is in rubles, which it is impossible to earn anywhere in the world.

The silence over this "paradox" prompts a dual interpretation: Either further support of the ruble is becoming problematic and, consequently, a sharp fall in the rate of the ruble is inevitable or, given the numerous articles about substantial currency assets which have appeared, the Central Bank is simply reluctant to reduce the interest rate on credit placed in commercial banks, as in current conditions the government would be deprived of one of its sources of income. If you believe the claim that currency and financial stabilization is close, is it not time to lower the interest rate? If stabilization is not far off, it is necessary to stop subsidizing Russian tourists and importers with cheap dollars.

Unfortunately, everything has snags. The measure under discussion is not free of them. The not very high level of confidence in the domestic banking system felt by the mass clientele could nullify the expected results. The example of the bankruptcy of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank], with its 300,000 individual depositors, is still quite fresh in people's minds. Moreover, while Russia has been a country vigorously swallowing up cash currency over the last 12 to 18 months, the Central Bank decision will clearly boost its export. Suppose we had to follow Poland and the USSR and introduce a restriction on the export of currency from Russia. Moreover, the rise in demand for cash rubles, which were mixed up with dollars in cash circulation, could produce either another cash crisis, which we have already experienced, back in 1992, or further doses of inflation.

It is no secret that large-scale settlements in cash among enterprises were often effected in dollars. The banking system has put the brake on payments, quite rightly seeing such actions as a pretty powerful anti-inflationary measure, while the market has demanded a real speeding up of circulation. Sellers have obtained full settlement in rubles or currency, while purchasers have announced imaginary debts.

Nevertheless the present antidollar decision does enable you to hope that the ruble will become a proper national means of payment and that Russia will cease to import cash dollars, covering the U.S. budget deficit by its goods.

Urinson's Appointment as Economy Minister Seen Likely

MK1910132093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 2

[Leonid Brodskiy report: "Reshuffle in Economics Ministry. Future Economics Minister Appointed"]

[Text] The active process of reshuffling Russian deputy ministers has taken on a new intensity. Against the backdrop of bringing the most loyal former deputies into the government, however, the appointment of Yakov Urinson as "provisional acting first deputy economics minister" is noteworthy. Apart from the fact that this casting was carried out within the cabinet—that is, without inviting "outsiders"—it has a distinct transitional nature: In the view of informed sources, Urinson can count on the post of Economics Ministry head in the very near future.

Yakov Urinson has often been considered a probable candidate for the post of economics minister. His name was first mentioned in March, after Andrey Nechayev's resignation. The appointment of Oleg Lobov, a presidential crony, to this post temporarily postponed the materialization of the chief of the Government Economic Situation Center's ambitious plans. In September, when Mr. Lobov, who was appointed Security Council chairman, exchanged his office on Okhotnyy Ryad for an office on Varvarka, only two realistic candidates to the post of economics minister were under consideration—Andrey Shapovalyants, who was first deputy minister under both Nechayev and Lobov, and Yakov Urinson. Yeltsin, however, made a surprising move once again: He appointed Gaydar acting economics minister.

Virtually immediately after his appointment, Mr. Gaydar made it clear that he was not intent on becoming a full-blown minister. After Shapovalyants, too, expressed similar unwillingness, many people saw Urinson's appointment as inevitable, all the more so because Gaydar himself actively lobbied for Urinson's candidacy. Given this, Urinson's appointment as acting first deputy economics minister is more reminiscent of a pause the would-be minister will need in order to learn in more detail about his functions and, possibly, to draw up proposals for adjusting the ministry's staffing. In a conversation with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, Mr. Urinson indirectly confirmed the possibility of his further elevation: He was eager to make public his principles, in accordance with which the ministry will operate (which is characteristic of officials who are confident about their future). In his view, the Economics Ministry should focus on three areas: macroeconomic forecasting, drawing up structural policies, and devising regional policies.

At the same time, high-ranking officials at the Economics Ministry see Urinson's ascent as a sort of milestone. A widespread view has it that his arrival marks the logical completion of a consistent policy aimed at reducing the once powerful ministry to the level of a forecasting-statistical committee. This is all the more so because, according an Economics Ministry chief, during an election campaign the "new" ministry's main task will be "to manipulate macroeconomic indicators."

For a number of reasons, Urinson's possible appointment as economics minister will fully suit virtually all the top members of the Russian Government. Yegor Gaydar, shedding this responsibility, will effectively free his hands for stepping up his political activity. Oleg Soskovets will also feel content with having an economics minister who is no match for him in terms of clout and who will be more easily persuaded as to what industrial policy priorities are right.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Yakov Urinson

Age 49, doctor of economic sciences, graduated from the Plekhanov Institute of People's Economics. He worked at the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, then at the Main Computing Center [MCC] of the USSR State Planning Committee (in 1991 the MCC was renamed the Economic Situation Center at the Economics Ministry). In February 1992, the center was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Economics Ministry and subordinated to the Council of Ministers.

Media Issues

Shumeyko: Federal Information Center To Be Restructured

LD1910124593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Federal Information Centre, headed by Mikhail Poltoranin, a close ally of President Boris Yeltsin, and disbanded by the former parliament will be restructured and will fulfill the "tasks of forming the ideology of society", according to Information Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

He told TASS on Tuesday [19 October] that a presidential decree on restructuring the information centre had been drafted.

Sharing of property between the Information Ministry and the Federal Information Centre is being discussed, he added.

Government 'Lawlessness' Against Press Criticized

PM1910092193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Oct 93 p 2

[Article by Nikita Vaynonen: "You Cannot Overcome Lawlessness with Lawlessness"]

[Text] The old Russian method of knocking a wedge out with a wedge is utterly unsuited where democratic procedures must operate. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has repeatedly criticized the authorities for their careless and weak-willed tolerance with regard to blatantly illegal items with which the press of almost the entire "left-wing" political spectrum was bristling. But you cannot fight one form of lawlessness with the aid of another. That attests merely to the lack of legal culture. It is a blatant and alarming sign of the weakness of the power and primarily of the second power, the legal power. Of the lawsuits brought in the past by the Ministry of the Press against publications (not, incidentally, only "left-wing" ones but "right-wing" ones too) which regularly abused freedom of speech, not one was won. Now the opposite, extremely dangerous trend has been noted—closing down the media without trial or investigation. That can be understood up to a point when such actions are taken in the region of a state of emergency. Nevertheless, even here many questions arise: After all the closed newspapers were distributed and printed not only in Moscow. Why should readers in other places, to which the rules of the state of emergency do not extend, also be deprived of publications, for the right to read which they have already paid a large subscription? But nothing can justify acts of violence against newspapers undertaken by local administrations without any legal justification. The very great danger of such actions is that precedents are thus created for the use of so-called revolutionary law: When the law is broken in the name of the people and in their interests, the power of the people swiftly turns into the tyranny of officials. That, of course, is not yet totalitarianism as the other side portrays such actions but it is the first step toward totalitarianism. As all world experience and especially Russian experience proves, the development of democracy into mob rule always begins this way. That is why it is so important to take a step back in good time, into the bosom of legality.

Even less sympathy is aroused by attempts to justify illegal violent measures from moral positions. The traditions of the ethical "whitewashing" of illegal actions in Russia are very great. Is it not these traditions which were the cause of many, many of our misfortunes?

At the same time the law and its application should be uncompromisingly tough against those who violate this law. The borderline between connivance with a crime and McCarthyism is erased most easily where there is disregard for an irrefutable rule in applying the law: The truth is always specific. And people begin to operate using the method of universal smearing, crushing or forgiving everyone in succession. Even direct involvement in the rebellion for those who were misled is still not sufficient grounds for calling them criminals, just as the absence of direct involvement for whose who called for it even indirectly is no reason for exoneration. Give them their due according to their deeds! No political logic, still less any class logic, can be above that biblical behest which, although it is a long way in style from jurisprudence, serves as the most reliable basis for a rule-of-law state.

Press Ministry Challenged Over Suspension Orders

MK1910142093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 14

[German Zaychenko report under "Situation Around Banned Papers" rubric: "The Press Ministry Takes Up a Vulnerable Position"]

[Text] Yesterday Gennadiy Gomanov, senior prosecutor at the Russian General Prosecutor's Office Department for Oversight of the Execution of Laws in the Social Sphere, demanded that the Ministry of Press and Information resume the activity of the banned publications that the ministry considers to be nationalist (PULS TUSHINA, RUSSKIY PORYADOK, and others) or to issue two official warnings and take the matter to court. This does not apply to PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and GLASNOST. Yesterday PRAVDA's editorial staff held a general meeting which adopted the text of a letter to Boris Yeltsin and sent that letter asking "to put an end to the frenzied activity by ministry officials preventing the publication of the paper."

Whereas the situation with nationalists papers is basically clear—only the letter of the law must be preserved—the "suspension" of PRAVDA places the Press and Information Ministry in a fairly vulnerable position from a legal viewpoint. According to Gennadiy Seleznev, who was removed by the ministry from his post as PRAVDA's chief editor, at yesterday's general meeting the journalists refused to obey the oral demands from the Press Ministry on changing the name, logo, and chief editor (as KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported on 14 October) until the ministry presents an official document. The paper is also ready to meet with a Press Ministry representative in court. At the same time a certain group of journalists led by acting chief editor Mr. Ilyin is inclined to carry out the ministry's demands. Informed sources close to the Press Ministry report that Aleksey Ilyin's appointment was not accidental: He is inclined toward compromise and is apparently friendly with Mr. Shumeyko.

Observers suppose that the legal situation could be complicated by the fact that since 1991 PRAVDA has been an enterprise with a share of foreign capital—the Cyprus company "Steallide Holding" [as transliterated]. As Mr. Seleznev, vice president of the joint stock company Pravda International, told KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent, the company's president, Mr. Yanis Yannikos, intends to file a suit in an international arbitration court for reimbursement of moral and material damage. First Deputy Press and Information Minister Tsabriya refused to comment.

Intellectuals Urge Banning of '600 Seconds' Program

PM2010091993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on a letter from "representatives of the creative intelligentsia" to President Boris Yeltsin, Minister of Press and Information Vladimir Shumeyko, and General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik, carried under the heading "'600 Seconds' Should Not Be Revived"; followed by Viktor Kostyukovskiya report: "No One Is Waiting for Nevzorov in the Kuzbass"]

[Text] A large group from the creative intelligentsia has sent a letter to President Boris Yeltsin, Minister of Press and Information Vladimir Shumeyko, and General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik.

The letter says, in particular, that, in consideration of the bitter experience of the events of 3-4 October, when communists and fascists closed ranks under slogans of "All Power to the Soviets," a plenary session of Russia's creative unions approved and supported the measures taken by the government to suspend the activity of organizations of a communist and pro-fascist bent, and also their press organs. At the same time the letter focuses attention on the need to adopt stern measures toward the "NTK-600" television company headed by A. Nevzorov, which for the last three years has been a genuine mouthpiece of the fascist-communist ideology and transmitter of the ideas of nationalism and has fanned social hatred.

Since its eulogy of the violence and brigandage during the seizure of the TV center in Vilnius and the events in Riga in 1991, the perennial heroes of this program have been the criminal elements who took part in these events, and also other leaders of bandit groups, who gave direct instructions from the screen on the formation of armed groups and the contact telephone numbers of nationalistic parties prepared to set up detachments of armed gunmen. All these actions, the letter says, have provoked repeated protests from the St. Petersburg public. The leadership of the St. Petersburg Television Company several times closed down the "600 Seconds" program but was then compelled on the direct instructions of the prosecutor's office and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to allow the program back on the air.

"In addition, the constant relishing of violence, cruelty, and the details of murders has led to this program's becoming a serious threat to the spiritual health of the nation and the psychological state of individuals, above all young people," the letter stresses. The letter contains a request for earnest measures to shut down the program, and also to examine the question of the direct participation of its moderator, A.G. Nevzorov, in actions of incitement during the tragic events of 3-4 October.

The letter is signed by Academician Dmitriy Likhachev, composer Andrey Petrov, writer Daniil Granin, People's Artists Galina Vishnevskaya, Mstislav Rostropovich, Kirill Lavrov, Oleg Basilashvili, Innokentiy Smoktunovskiy, and many other representatives of the creative intelligentsia.

[Kostyukovskiy report] In connection with rumors that Aleksandr Nevzorov is headed for the Kuzbass to coordinate the broadcasting of "600 Seconds" on local television, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent Viktor Kostyukovskiy reports: No one has any information about Nevzorov's coming to Kemerovo. But even if he does come, it is absolutely unrealistic to expect his "Seconds" to be broadcast on the Kuzbass airwaves.

Local Democrats Complain About Censorship in Krasnodar

LD2010080693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have today received a statement from Krasnodar, signed by delegates to a congress of the Russia's Choice movement. It says that the local democratic parties, associations, and movements have found themselves caught in an information blockade. The administration of Krasnodar Kray has in fact secretly introduced political censorship. Radio and TV programs are being taken off the air, says the statement, such as a program featuring participants in a congress of Russia's Choice and a radio report on the founding congress of the Russia's Choice movement. An issue of the newspaper KUBANSKIY KURYER belonging to the democratic movement, which covered the congress, also failed to come out. We consider that the kray administration is violating the Russian Federation law on the media and, in defiance of the decree by Russian President Yeltsin is obstructing the preparations for elections to the state Duma, the statement stresses.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin To Visit Yaroslavl 23 Oct

LD2010100593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0626 GMT 20 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet heads of administrations of central Russian regions on Saturday during a one-day trip to the city of Yaroslavl, 250 kilometres north-west of Moscow, TASS learned from the presidential press service on Wednesday.

Yeltsin is going to the ancient city to participate in the ceremony of unveiling a monument to Yaroslav the Wise, the grand duke of Kiev who contributed a lot in the 11th century to the creation of a single Russian state with the capital in Kiev and called the Kievan Rus.

The monument will be sanctified by Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksiy II.

It was earlier announced that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk had been also invited to attend the ceremony and city authorities hoped to host a Russian-Ukrainian summit in Yaroslavl.

Yeltsin Appoints New Representative in Sakhalin

LD1910200193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin appointed Viktor Kamornik, formerly chief of the regional anti-monopoly agency, to be his representative in the Sakhalin Region, replacing former journalist and former USSR People's Deputy Vitaliy Guliya, who was offered a new job in Moscow.

Sakhalin Oblast Soviet Holds Last Session

OW2010005593 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 16 Oct 93

[Ivan Vorobyev report; from the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] An oblast soviet of people's deputies session was held in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk today. Our correspondent Ivan Vorobyev discusses this.

[Begin Vorobyev recording] The number 13 became a fateful one for soviet power on Sakhalin Island. The 13th session of the oblast soviet of the people's deputies became its last. A deputy who is a UFO expert lamented that the session should not have been scheduled for 15 October. I am not very proficient in astrology, so I will convey his explanation in a simpler way: The stars just did not shine for the deputies. This might be why only 58 out of 160 deputies arrived yesterday for the extraordinary session proposed by Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov, the administration head. Only 46 deputies came for today's session, not enough for a quorum. They had started coming from the oblast periphery some time ago, and it seemed that they intended to preserve soviet power in the oblast, but while in Moscow, the deputies took to arms; in Sakhalin, they just took off. Well, this is also a kind of argument, a way of voting.

Closing the session, administration head Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov said: These are cruel times but also purifying. One must understand that both you, the deputies, and we too have some degree of responsibility for the bloody events in Moscow, and decisions by many Russian Federation soviets supporting the Russian Supreme Soviet's actions contributed to the events. The people's army did not support the people's deputies.

Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov thinks that the deputies do not control the situation, do not know the conditions or even their people, and continue to preach the soviet psychology, to talk without taking responsibility for anything.

Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov addressed former Russian Deputy Sergey Mikhaylov, who exploited yesterday's deputies meeting to expound his anti-Yeltsin and antigovernment position, presented as a description of the events in Moscow. The administration head called to avoid transferring responsibility of the Moscow events to federation members. He said: Do not instigate the people, do not call for unsanctioned, unlawful acts. After all, someone had the time to report to Moscow that former Deputy Mikhaylov had spoken at the session although there was no session as such. The main goal today is not to incite people but to organize them for conducting elections for the State Duma, Federation Council, and local organs of power.

Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov signed a decree today on reforming representative power in Sakhalin Oblast. All activities of the oblast and smaller soviets are suspended, and sessions and conferences are canceled. The status [word indistinct] of the deputies is maintained. The oblast administration has taken over all functions of representative power. Smaller soviet members will form a commission for [word indistinct] which, to a certain extent, will be charged with conducting the elections and working out the oblast charter.

Anatoliy Aksenov, chairman of the former oblast soviet, addressed the gathering. He said: The deputies must do everything possible to guarantee the conducting of elections on 12 December and make a sober judgment of the situation to help create a second branch of authority and stabilize the country's situation. On his behalf and on behalf of the deputies, Anatoliy Aksenov thanked everyone he had a chance to work with, chairmen of the soviets, deputies of all levels, and administration workers.

Can it really be true, that we bid farewell to the soviet power with wishes of goodwill? One would really like to believe that. [end recording]

Kurgan Regional Council To Continue Work

LD1910222893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] On Tuesday [19 October], the Kurgan Regional Council stated that it would continue its work until the results of the elections to the new representative bodies were announced. The deputies also said that they would implement the president's decree of October 9 on the reorganization of local authority bodies to the extent that it does not go against current laws.

The deputies urged the president to hold simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections and to set a date for them.

Out of the 147 deputies present at the session, 12 resigned, among them the head of the regional administration and the leaders of town and district administrations.

The 6 deputies who insisted on the Regional Council's self-dissolvement left the hall before voting. Out of the 26 town and district councils belonging to the Kurgan Region, 14, including the Kurgan City Council, had earlier pledged to continue their work.

Soviets in Bryansk Dissolved; Stavropol Curtails Activity

LD1910212793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Oleg Artyushin and Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Bryansk (Central Russia) October 19 TASS—Acting Governor Vladimir Karpov suspended on Tuesday [19 October] activities of all local soviets (councils) on the territory of the Bryansk region. He announced this decision after the Regional Council Chairman Vladimir Sidorenko resigned.

Stavropol (South Russia) October 19 TASS—The regional soviet (council) decided on Tuesday to terminate calling sessions and delegated its powers to the council's leadership which stays working on till new elections.

The soviet canceled its own decision of late September barring elections to a fresh federal parliament. The soviet ruled that the parliamentary elections will be held on December 12 jointly with the elections to the local legislature.

Magadan Oblast Soviet Suspends Session

OW1910124293 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Oblast News" program]

[Text] The Magadan Oblast Soviet session did not endorse the wish of several deputies to disband, but adopted the proposal of Deputy Alifir to suspend the session's work until an unspecified date. The date was not further defined.

Moscow Commandant Gives Briefing

LD1910183093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Now the official results of the state of emergency in Moscow that were reported at a news conference at the Internal Affairs Ministry today.

[Unidentified correspondent] So, with the forces of the OMON [special purpose militia detachment], internal troops backed up with armor, military students, and the city militia, a special regime was maintained in the capital that made it possible to cut crime by 26 percent. More than 9,000 persons without residence permits were expelled from Moscow, and also the activities of non-public associations that had taken part in mass disorders were curtailed. Suspects were sent to screening centers.

The now former commandant of Moscow Aleksandr Kulikov agreed that there were certain violations and cases of rudeness toward these people, but at the present moment each statement was being checked out. In reply to a question as to whether he thought criminal elements had been lying low during the state of emergency, and were now coming out to work, he said that in the course of Operation Signal-Ring in the most dangerous districts of the capital, 59 criminal gangs were uncovered, and weapons, explosives, rare-earth metals, and drugs were confiscated.

There were many impressive figures, but in reply to a question from a journalist, asked with faint hope, as to what measures will remain for reinforcing law and order after the two-week-long state of emergency, Kulikov said that the troops and OMON will return to their stations and Moscow will only, as before, be protected by the forces of militia garrisons.

Introduction of Visa Regulations in Moscow Expected

LD1910210293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] In his interview with Interfax on Tuesday deputy chief of the capital's Main Interior Department Viktor Kiselyov declared that introduction of the decree on visa regime in Moscow is a matter of days. Now the militia has been deprived of an opportunity to send away citizens from other towns from Moscow after abolition of the state of emergency in the capital.

Nevertheless, the general said, the Moscow law enforcement bodies will work "in an intensive regime in order not to annul positive results in crime fighting reached under the state of emergency and curfew."

In particular, militia patrols are to be reinforced in the evening and night time at the expense of servicemen of interior forces division named after Dzerzhinskiy, stressed Kiselyov.

As before, markets, hotels, airports, and rail way stations will remain under special supervision of law enforcement bodies. At the same time Kiselyov recognized that he "does not flatter" himself and admits a new burst of crime in the near term.

Chelyabinsk Nominates Candidates for Elections

PM1910160393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Oct 93 p 2

[Anatoliy Usoltsev report under the rubric "Regions Make Their Choice": "First Candidates Named"]

[Text] Nominations of candidates for the State Duma have started in Chelyabinsk. At a conference of the oblast organization of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, people who are widely known for their democratic views were named as candidates. They included Aleksandr Alekseyev, a consultant at the oblast administration's supervisory administration; General Vladimir Seleznev, the Russian president's representative in Chelyabinsk Oblast; Vladimir Golovlev and Boris Mizrakhi, two deputy heads of the oblast administration; and others.

The oblast organizations of parties and movements which are not part of the "Russia's Choice" bloc are also naming their candidates for the State Duma. At a meeting of representatives of three parties—the Republican Party, the Peasant Party, and the Free Labor Party—the following were put forward as candidates: Aleksandr Pochinok, Russian first deputy minister of finance; Larisa Subbotina, member of the Russian Constituent Union Coordination Committee; and other politicians.

St. Petersburg Poll on Elections Held

PM1910153193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by "sociologists" Mariya Matskevich and Leonid Keselman: "St. Petersburg: Democrats Ahead"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—According to data from the Center for Studying and Forecasting Social Processes, which conducted a poll of over 2,500 St. Petersburg inhabitants 18 October, 23 percent of citizens do not intend to take part in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. The remaining 77 percent expect (with varying degrees of certainty) to go to the polls 12 December.

Among those who admit the possibility of participating in the ballot, 24 percent express a preference for the "Russia's Choice" bloc led by Ye. Gaydar. The Movement of Democratic Reforms led by A. Sobchak and G. Popov attracts 11 percent of St. Petersburg's inhabitants, whereas 19 percent lean toward the bloc led by G. Yavlinskiy and Yu. Boldyrev, 4 percent favor N. Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia, and 8 percent prefer the communists, while some 3 percent of St. Petersburg inhabitants express a preference for the banned National Salvation Front.

Despite the fact that the list submitted contained by no means all the political blocs and parties considered potential participants in the forthcoming campaign, a mere 21 percent of those expected to vote found it difficult even now to choose from the six political forces listed above, and roughly 2 percent, finding no representatives of their own interests on the list, named some on their own initiative. Of those determined to vote, 10 percent have no confidence in any of these parties and blocs.

Experience shows that the people who fail to turn out are most likely to be those who state that intention directly, plus the majority of those who expressed a general lack of confidence or found it difficult to choose. This means that the total number of those failing to exercise their right to vote for whatever reason couild in our view, hit 46 percent of the St. Petersburg electorate on polling day.

So if the parliamentary elections were to take place over the next few days at least 54 percent of St. Petersburg's inhabitants would participate in them. It is most likely that those who do turn out will basically be those who are clear about their choice, while the "don't knows" who go to the polls regardless will divide up along roughly the same lines as those who have already made their choice. It can be assumed, taking the total number of those with a stated position as the 100-percent marker, that right now in St. Petersburg "Russia's Choice" can count on 34 percent of the vote, while G. Yavlinskiy and Yu. Boldyrev's bloc can expect roughly 27 percent, the Movement for Democratic Reforms led by A. Sobchak and G. Popov—15.5 percent, the Democratic Party of Russia led by N. Travkin—5.5 percent, the communists—roughly 11 percent, and supporters of the now clandestine National Salvation Front—4.5 percent, with all other parties and blocs picking up the remaining 3 percent. (Unless, of course, division sets in among the leading blocs and the votes are split.)

Overall, although it is the case that a united opposition of communist-patriots can expect a maximum of between 15 and 20 percent of the votes in St. Petersburg, a fusion of the three democratically oriented blocs ("Russia's Choice," the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev bloc, and the Movement for Democratic Reforms) on its own can count on almost five times more support—75 percent of the St. Petersburg electorate. That is, it can expect support way in excess of the stipulation [vozmozhnost] for obtaining the necessary majority [kvalifitsirovannoye bolshinstvo] to adopt vital political decisions in parliament. It is not difficult to see from the data cited that the main battle will take place between "Russia's Choice," which is supported by the executive authority, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev bloc, which is not burdened with responsibility for the consequences of reforms already begun.

The social base of each of the tendencies and certain of its broad values can be quite clearly prescribed even now.

It is clear that the situation in St. Petersburg is unlikely to reflect the disposition of forces in the country. But the structural characteristics of the social base of the main political forces are typical of other major Russian cities.

Roundup of Regional Political Developments

PM2010104193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Roundup of reports under the general heading "Regions Make Their Choice"]

[Text] **Democrats Nominated**

Cheboksary (by Vladimir Dolgov)—A constituent conference of the "Russia's Choice" electoral bloc was held in Cheboksary, capital of the Chuvash Republic. It elected three candidates for election as deputies to the Russian Federal Assembly's State Duma. The elected candidates are: Vladislav Alekseyev, expert specialist from the Russian presidential representative's office in Chuvashia; Valerian Viktorov, chairman of the Chuvash Republic Council of Ministers; and Eduard Kubarev, chairman of Chuvashia's Supreme Soviet.

The first two candidates are the republic's best known democrats; V. Viktorov in particular displayed his commitment to his principles at the Chuvash Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session on 23 September, speaking decisively in support of Russia's president.

Tomsk To Have Its Own Parliament

Tomsk (by Aleksandr Chernykh)—Under pressure from the realities prevailing in the country, the Tomsk Oblast Soviet session adopted a nine-point decision. The main point is perhaps the fact that the deputies agreed to set up a Tomsk Oblast Parliament as a permanent unicameral representative organ of power.

Elections to parliament will be held simultaneously with the elections to the Federal Assembly's State Duma and Federation Council, and until such time as Tomsk's own parliament emerges, all the oblast soviet's powers are vested in its Chairman Grigoriy Shamin. As soon as parliament is born, the oblast soviet will quietly cease to exist.

To sum up, it looks as if the supreme forum of deputies will continue to exist formally, but will not function in reality. If this could be described as a compromise, so be it.

Another important decision was adopted. Deputies repealed the decision made by the Inner Soviet in September, whereby the president's edict No. 1400 was deemed unconstitutional and its implementation in the oblast was prohibited. According to G. Shamin, that was dictated by circumstances at the time. The deputies had apparently hoped that such a decision would have forced the conflicting top echelons of power to pause for thought and would have prevented them from aggravating the situation. The majority of Russian Federation component soviets had adopted similar decisions, but the governors had unambiguously backed the president. This situation enabled each of the conflicting sides in

Moscow to claim that it, and it alone, enjoys support throughout Russia. Hence the intractability and the ensuing bloodshed and killings.

Incidentally, the oblast soviet chairman frankly declared that he also bears moral blame for the events in Moscow. If only all the deputies were to adopt such an unambiguous stance.

The Inner Soviet assembled last Friday [15 October] for a session which, judging by all signs, should have adopted a decision to disband itself. The Inner Soviet members wished to officially formulate their departure, but several of them actually resigned their mandates. Its work was paralyzed due to the absence of a quorum.

Meanwhile, the decree of Oblast Administration Head Viktor Kress is already being implemented, in which he asked Tomsk rayon administration heads to take over the functions of rayon soviets whose activity is terminated. All their property is being transferred to the administrations.

Taking a Broader View of the Decree

Omsk (by Margarita Ziangarova)—A decree by Omsk Oblast Administration Head Leonid Polezhayev has terminated the activity of Omsk City Soviet and of settlement and rural soviets.

Local press commentaries on this decree say that this document should not be perceived as similar to the Russian president's edict. Specifically, under the administration head's decree, the executive and administrative functions of soviets at all levels are being transferred to the corresponding administrations. This has been done in order to prevent any possible breaks along the vertical chain of executive power.

Voters' Opinion Disregarded

Krasnodar (by Vladimir Udachin)—We might recall that Krasnodar Kray Soviet convened for an extraordinary session on 22 September and passed a categorical verdict. The Kuban people's deputies ruled that the president's well-known edict was unconstitutional, it lacked legal force, and was not binding for implementation by any state organs of power and administration. They backed the Supreme Soviet's decisions.

But here is something curious. A week went by, and the kray soviet's extraordinary session found itself in, to put it mildly, a delicate situation. It was debating the Russian Federation Law "On the Russian Federation Citizens' Right to Freedom of Movement and of Choice of Place of Domicile and Residence Within the Russian Federation." Its coming into force as of 1 October will seriously aggravate the migration situation in Kuban. This was said by the deputies, demanding that the date for bringing the law into force on the kray's territory be postponed. But how was this to be done, to whom were they to appeal?

The political situation had changed in the wake of the October rebellion in Moscow and the president, whether recognized by the kray soviet or not, sent a telegram requesting that it review its 22 September decision within three days.

They were about to repeal it last Tuesday [12 October]. But they were one deputy short of a quorum. They postponed the session until the next day when, under their standing orders, the number required to form a quorum would be reduced. The requisite number of deputies were present in the hall, and the session began its work by considering appeals by the administration head and the kray prosecutor who had at long last spoken up. It became immediately apparent that on 22 September, according to the Russian Federation Law "On Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies" (Article 3 Point 5), the kray soviet was in no way entitled to appraise the president's edict No. 1400—this is simply outside its powers.

The Kuban deputies were unwilling to "reform" themselves, let alone disband themselves. Even the Inner Soviet's timid suggestion that the full soviet's powers be transferred to it was voted down by a majority of deputies. Nobody resigned his deputy's mandate. The Krasnodar Kray Soviet, even though it repealed its antipresident decisions, has stuck to its guns, but a sociological poll has shown that the majority of voters advocate a reform of representative power.

The "Implacables" Do Not Resign, They Are Ready for Reconciliation

Tambov Oblast (by Yevgeniy Pisarev)—Former Russian Federation people's deputies who are now out of work have no intention of withdrawing from the political arena. They are actually expecting to end up on the political Olympus. At least Pavel Gorbunov, director of Tambov's "Housing Initiative" Firm, in opposition to the president and his policy both now and while he functioned as a deputy, is ready to consent to being nominated as State Duma deputy.

Until a few days ago P. Gorbunov belonged to the "Russia's Communists" deputies' faction but today (verbally at least) he advocates private ownership not only of the means of production but also of land.

This liberalization of P. Gorbunov's political views is rather due to the actual political situation in the country and his desire to join the "soft" opposition to President B. Yeltsin and his entourage. For this selfsame reason he has distanced himself from the radical wing of the local branch of the "Fatherland" people's patriotic movement, having been its cochairman since the day it was founded.

P. Gorbunov considers himself a patriot, and is therefore against the Western orientation of Russia's economy. But, being a pragmatist, he quite willingly described his political views and forecasts of the country's economic development to a staffer of the Moscow bureau of France's radio station "Europe-1."

Despite P. Gorbunov's ideological vacillation, the opposition still considers him one of its own—his associates from "Fatherland" are inclined to perceive their cochairman's actions as a delicate political game. Therefore, the former "implacable" has a chance of winning support from a certain section of the population.

This marks the beginning of the first stage of the election campaign in Tambov Oblast.

No Shortage of Candidates

Vladimir (by Yuriy Shatalov)—A working group to prepare and hold events during the State Duma election campaign has been set by directive of Vladimir Oblast Administration Head Yuriy Vlasov.

The election campaign race is already under way in the oblast. The first candidate deputies were nominated at an enlarged session of the "Russia's Choice" Bloc Coordination Committee, set up in Vladimir a month ago. The majority of committee members voted for N. Yegorov, the president's representative to the oblast; S. Shamardanov, president of the Vladimir Union of Entrepreneurs; and V. Tatarev, city soviet deputy.

The other political organizations and public movements are not wasting any time. A few days ago they published in the oblast newspaper a list of 22 candidates for the State Duma, offering voters to either make their choice or nominate new candidates.

"Renewal" Will Renew the List If Centrists Create Bloc

(By Aleksandr Meshkov)—The All-Russia Renewal Union has held its third conference.

Following the departure of the Russian Democratic Party from the Civic Union and the suspension of the activity of the Free Russia People's Party [FRPP], the Renewal Union is the largest political force within the Civic Union. The conference decided to contest the upcoming State Duma elections in a bloc with the Russian Youth Union which also belongs to the Civic Union and with the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE]. It was not ruled out that this election campaign bloc might be joined by the "Entrepreneurs for a New Russia" Association (K. Zatulin) and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (S. Shakhray). Consultations are now under way with their representatives. Moreover, the Renewal Union would like to maintain continuity and let the new bloc retain its former name—Civic Union.

Some speakers did not rule out the possibility that the general centrist list might contain the names of politicians whose parties will be unable to autonomously contest the elections. (Probably meaning the FRPP.) Speakers also mentioned morality in politics, the fact that not all compromises are justified, and that there is no need to distance themselves from certain former associates until their guilt is established by the courts.

The Renewal Union has published its own list of candidates until such time as the centrists compile a single federal list for the forthcoming elections. It contains about 50 persons. They are leaders of the party's central and regional structures and public figures who share its views. The candidates include RUIE President Volskiy, who is also member of the Renewal Union Council; the latter party's Cochairmen Vladislavlev, Polozkov, Mironenko, and Dolgolaptev; movie director Menshov; Academician Protasov; and others.

The conference instructed the party's leadership organs to elaborate the Renewal Union's political platform for the elections on the basis of its program documents and to adopt an address to voters.

Why I Resigned My Office as Deputy

(By former Cheboksary City Soviet Deputy Vladimir Dolgov)—I resigned my office as Cheboksary City Soviet deputy 8 October 1993. Why did I do this? I decided that this was the way to support the Russian president's stance in this difficult time.

The point is that, as is well known, the soviets apply the brakes on the implementation of reforms. This was manifested most graphically during the political crisis in September-October this year. For example, an extraordinary session of Chuvashia's Supreme Soviet was held in Cheboksary 23 September, which adopted a decree on the current situation whereby, despite President Yeltsin's edict disbanding Russia's Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies, Chuvashia's supreme organ of power backed Russia's Supreme Soviet and recognized it as continuing to exist.

I totally disagree with this. I feel ashamed of the stance taken by Chuvash people's deputies, the overwhelming majority of whom are members of the former party and economic nomenklatura, the conservative corps of directors, and the former CPSU nomenklatura. Moreover, I have no desire to be in the same ranks as former Russian people's deputies from Chuvashia.

I hope that at the coming elections, Chuvashia's voters will finally elect some more deserving deputies. The Soviet system is an umbrella of the communist system, it confuses the millions of ordinary voters who are unfamiliar with politics, and it creates an illusion of "people's power." I have seen from my own experience that, in practical terms, a local soviet people's deputy can do very little for his voters. Everything depends on the administration and on economic leaders.

I tried to do everything I could for the socioeconomic development of my Southwest Microrayon of Cheboksary, but it is inexpedient and ineffective to do this during working hours to the detriment of my direct office duties; we need a professional city hall, municipality, or city duma which would employ specialists on a professional basis—financiers, economists, housing and municipal services experts, and so on.

Unfortunately, the Soviet system is not geared to this.

Chechnya Warns of 'Provocations' From North Caucasus

LD1910221893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Provocations are planned in the North Caucasus in the coming 2-3 weeks in order to draw the mountainous nations and the Russian people in a fratricidal conflict, the Chechen Press and Information Minister Movladiy Udugov has told Interfax, referring to reliable sources.

The Chechen leadership, which has declared its independence from Russia, spread Tuesday an appeal to the Caucasian nations, Russian Cossacks, officers and men of the Russian army, asking them to prevent a fratricidal war. They blame Russia's hardliners and the intelligence service for being behind a large-scale provocation. The appeal states that an attempt is again being made to draw the Russian Army into political gambles.

Curfew Continues in Chechen Capital

LD1910220993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] A curfew has been in force in Groznyy, the capital of the Chechen Republic, since last Friday, following the blowing up of 12 transformer sub-stations there the night before. Groznyy was left without water or electricity for twenty-four hours due to the attack. Security has now been tightened around all key facilities, Chechen-Press news agency said.

Military Commandant Alaudiy Chagayev said as many as 19 checkpoints were put up around the city to help enforce law and order.

In the meantime, President Dzokhar Dudayev blamed the latest sabotage attack on "certain Russian circles." In a televised speech, he said the attack was masterminded by "Russian instructors."

Opposition leaders entrenched in the republic's Nadterechnyy Region have denied any involvement in the attack. Regional Mayor Umar Avturkhanov told Interfax that he disapproved of "the imbecile action by bandits of unknown political leanings."

More Shooting in North Ossetia Reported

LD1910143993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz October 19 TASS—The past 24 hours were troublesome in the North Ossetian state of emergency zone. According to information received by the republican Security Council from military sources today, five gunbattles were fought in some populated localities of Prigorodny district. Fire was opened on October 18 from a forest ambush at an armoured carrier of a task unit of the Russian Interior Ministry near the village of Chermen, Prigorodnyy district. The military had to retaliate. Luckily there were no casualties.

A "Kraz" tip truck, loaded with limestone, blew up on a mine when returning from a limestone quarry between the populated localities of Terk and Chernorechenskoye on October 19. The truck, which belonged to one of the industrial enterprises of Vladikavkaz, fell into a gully. The heavily wounded driver had to be hospitalised.

Investigation teams of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry and the Russian army are now working on the spot. The terrorists left a note on a roadside tree trunk saying: "We are not bandits, but popular avengers".

Yarov-Led Delegation Visiting Murmansk

LD2010075693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] We have just received a dispatch from Murmansk by correspondent Vladimir Novikov on the visit to the Kola peninsula of a representative commission from Moscow headed by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov.

[Novikov] This morning they visited the Northern Fleet. Then a thorough, detailed discussion took place aboard the nuclear-powered icebreaker "Sovetskiy Soyuz," a discussion primarily about what is going to happen to the shipping line and the nuclear-powered icebreaker fleet.

Now a meeting is taking place with managers of the oblast's enterprises, with entrepreneurs.

It must be said that this is not the first time high-ranking leaders from Moscow, including deputy prime ministers, are paying a visit here, but after each such meeting on the peninsula, the issues are essentially not tackled. One would like to hope that after the arrival of Yarov and his large representative commission, we shall nevertheless succeed somehow in rectifying things as far as the economy of the Kola peninsula is concerned. At any rate, the commission is apparently intent on doing this. Here is what Yuriy Yarov said in particular in an interview for the Mayak program.

[Begin Yarov recording] The aim of the visit by this entire commission is to look at what we have already accomplished this year and how we have fulfilled the task set by the government regarding ensuring the delivery of food and oil-products to Russia's northern territory, 65 percent of which is Arctic, as you know. We decided that it is necessary to look at what we have accomplished, what the costs are, and further, we must examine what the administration of this territory needs to do so that next year, this work will be more organized, including what the federal bodies must do. There is time, and there is opportunity. We shall hold this concluding meeting probably early in November.

The leading officials of the territories, which are among the Northern territories, and I will get together with the sole purpose of discussing what it has been possible to do and what needs to be done to improve this process, the more so as we know that in the future, there will be no preferential credits and that credits must be returned. Hence, we have the problem of how we need to act in the future. We have already covered this road. It is necessary to search for new forms and to prepare for new demands that will be made on us next year. [end recording]

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Zlenko Views Western Attitudes

AU1910195493 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 15 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Hanna Tuhay]

[Text] Time is working for Ukraine. Even though, over the two years of independence, the newly created state's reputation has not always been presented to the world objectively, a realistic attitude has, after all, prevailed. This was attested to, in particular, by the participation of the Ukrainian delegation in the 48th session of the UN General Assembly.

It would, certainly, be naive to expect that, after a period when Ukraine was condemned at all diplomatic crossroads as a country violating the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia and as one that is in no hurry to fulfill its own obligations to become a nuclear-free state, we would be able to set the tone at the East River. We do not even have such intentions. As stressed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko during a meeting with journalists after the return from the session, the tone there has traditionally been set by the highly advanced capitalist countries. This will continue for quite a while. The point is that, in the course of time, Ukraine has proven, by its actions and the facts, its trustworthiness as a state.

However, as the head of our external political department stressed, we have also finally achieved a status when our claims regarding the losses owing to the sanctions are being heard. Moreover, there is a hope that a certain response will follow.

I asked the minister whether we could count on a compensation for at least part of the $4 billion that we have already lost as a result of the sanctions.

Today, it is difficult to answer this question, which is so important for us. Notwithstanding this, there are grounds for talking about our initial success. For the first time, the question of losses became a matter for discussion, and it will be continued, emphasized Anatoliy Maksymovych [Zlenko].

Let us remind you: The countries suffering losses are developing joint projects. In particular, Bulgaria proposed that an international conference be convened and, after a platform is elaborated, an appeal be made to IMF. There also are other variants.

A positive resolution of the burning question of economic losses is also essential for Ukraine in view of its debts to the United Nations. Literally on the eve of the session, we managed to repay a certain part of the debts, but there remains an unpaid debt that may lead to a situation where Ukraine, as one of the founders of the United Nations, may be barred from participating in the 50th anniversary session in 1995. We would like to believe that this will not happen.

Until that time, said the minister, much preparatory work will be conducted to reform the very structure of international cooperation. There are proposals to increase the number of permanent members of the Security Council largely by such great and strong powers as China, India, Germany, and Japan. Ukraine is not among such powers.

It is too early to assert that it is precisely the autumn of 1993 that has become the turning point in the West's attitude toward our state. Still, a tiny beam of light has flashed at the end of the information-obscuring tunnel that has enveloped us almost throughout the period of our independence. During Anatoliy Zlenko's meetings in Washington with President Clinton, Secretary of State Christopher, and senators, a balance of bilateral relations was worked out. This is the first serious program for cooperation with the United States, and encompasses the entire political and economic spectrum, including a summit. The program, stressed Anatoliy Maksymovych, is meant for the next six months.

Those readers who follow the development of Ukrainian-American relations will, undoubtedly, ask this question: Did Washington really leave our nuclear policy outside its attention?

Of course not. Not just the tactics, but also the strategy with regard to Ukraine has undergone a certain adjustment. We began to be differentiated from Russia and even from among "the former Soviet republics." Incidentally, during Zlenko's visit to Washington, the sum of financial aid for Ukraine was specified separately this time, and not in the general context. It is now up to the Ukrainian side to submit projects for implementation, and the United States is ready to allocate $300 million for them.

The Council of Europe is also changing its tough position somewhat with regard to eastern independent states. Following meetings on the American continent, the head of the external political department represented the president at a meeting of the Council of Europe. Even though the terms for joining the European club are quite restrictive and the requirements for guaranteeing human rights and others do not make us eligible not so much de jure as de facto, those present also heard our point of view.

There is yet another argument to support the thesis that I have used in the title of this report. Let us look back and recall President Kravchuk's visit to Hungary and his initiatives on the need to fill the vacuum that has taken shape on the territory of the former Warsaw Pact. The creation of a zone of stability in the region was meant.

Time has also confirmed that these proposals are not just realistic, but that there is a vital need for such a union. The tragedy in Moscow has convinced world opinion that these proposals need to be put into practice. Against the backdrop of some statements to the effect that the Russian Army will receive the UN peacekeeping mandate on the territory of the former Union and the development of events in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, this initiative is acquiring particular significance.

New U.S. Ambassador Hopes To Improve Ties

LD1910185093 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1544 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Oct—The newly appointed U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, William Green Miller, has arrived in Kiev. It was pointed out at a news conference he held at the Borispol Airport, that his arrival in Ukraine, in particular, would continue serious relations between our states. Americans want to see Ukraine an independent and free state and will watch the course of future democratic elections in Ukraine with great interest. In the very near future, Miller is planning to meet Ukraine's leadership and citizens in order to familiarize himself with the situation in that country better. "The only concern that I have brought with me to Ukraine is to do my best to improve relations between Ukraine and the United States," Miller pointed out.

As for the issues to be discussed during U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's forthcoming visit to Ukraine, Miller pointed out that he was coming to continue the dialogue that had started in the course of Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko's visit to the United States. Of course, the issue of nuclear weapons and that of economic aid to Ukraine will be some of the most important ones to be looked at during meetings. Having worked in the field of nuclear weapons for about 25 years, Miller pointed out, I know and understand well that a state that made a decision to rid itself of them, is faced with carrying out a difficult task. We witnessed what happened at Chernobyl and know what problems there are in connection with storing nuclear weapons. That is why we hope to cooperate in these fields.

As for the continuation of the policy, begun by the former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadyuk, Miller concluded that it would mainly continue but that we would also see new lines of activity.

Shevardnadze Sends Telegram of Thanks to Kravchuk

AU1910131093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 16 Oct 93 p 2

[Telegram from Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state and chairman of parliament; and Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk; received on 15 October]

[Text] Much-esteemed Leonid Makarovych,

In the days of the severe affliction, when long-suffering Georgia, subjected to occupation and genocide, was bleeding, when hundreds of thousands of its civilians became refugees in their own country and were forced to leave the homes of their forefathers who had lived there for centuries, and when helpless children, women, and elderly people, after they became homeless, were doomed to death from hunger and cold, the profound humaneness manifested by you and by the Ukrainian people has been unforgettable and the material and moral assistance—invaluable. We also regard your sincere assistance as a continuation of the historical traditions of brotherhood and mutual help between the peoples of the two friendly countries. We feel boundless gratitude for rescuing the many thousands of refugees who found themselves in the mountains of Svanetia and were doomed to death. We are deeply convinced that this feeling reinforced by common pain and common joy will live through centuries and will be passed from generation to generation.

Official Meets Netherlands Ministers in The Hague

LD2010091193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text) The visit by Boris Tarasyuk, Ukraine's deputy minister of foreign affairs to the Benelux countries ended with meetings in The Hague with Peter Kooijmans and Relus ter Beek, respectively the ministers of foreign affairs and defense of the Netherlands, and also with Van der Stul, supreme commissar of the CSCE for ethnic minorities issues.

The focus of the talks between Tarasyuk and Kooijmans were European security issues and the initiative of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk regarding the setting up of a stability and security zone in central and eastern Europe, and also the development of bilateral relations, with special stress on their specific economic [word indistinct].

In the course of the conversation with Ter Beek, the prospects of military political cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis were discussed. Information about the Ukraine Government's policy in the sphere of the provision of ethnic minorities' human rights was evaluated highly by the supreme commissar of the CSCE for ethnic minorities issues.

Border Guard Delegation Meets Slovak Counterparts

LD1910215093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Slovakia's and Ukraine's border guard delegations met in Bratislava, Slovakia's capital, to discuss the two border guard agencies' cooperation issues. The meeting resulted in signing three bilateral agreements covering border control, protection and supervision procedures, and a supplementary protocol on mechanisms for their implementation. Commenting on the meeting, Valeriy Hubenko, chairman of Ukraine's State Committee for State Border Protection, who led the Ukrainian delegation, referred to the two border guard agencies' relations as friendly and goodneighborly. He further said the documents signed in Bratislava would contribute to consolidating the legal foundation for promoting Slovak-Ukrainian border guard collaboration.

Envoy to UAE on Oil Imports, CSCE Conference

LD1910192893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1544 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Oct—A Ukrainian diplomatic mission is opening in the United Arab Emirates. Oleh Semenets, Ukraine's recently appointed ambassador to this Mideast state, was presented to journalists at a briefing at the Foreign Ministry. He reported that the Ukrainian diplomatic mission would carry out its work mainly in three directions: First, the possibilities of Ukraine reciving credits from the UAE would come to light; second, talks would be conducted regarding the delivery of energy carriers to Ukraine; third, the prospects of establishing business contacts between the two countries would be examined.

However, Semenets noted, the delivery of Arab oil to Ukraine is a matter for the distant future: Ukrainian oil refineries are not adapted to refine "heavy" neareastern oil, and so we will be forced to refine it in some other country—for example, Greece. Besides, Ukraine is still incapable of receiving the necessary quantity of oil for it because of the lack of a terminal. Regarding the possibility of the delivery of Ukrainian weapons to the UAE, Semenets stated that this issue has not been discussed, but he does not rule out this possibility if the UAE expresses an interest.

The second part of the briefing was devoted to the CSCE conference of a humanitarian dimension, which took place in Warsaw last week. The Ukrainian delegation acquainted the conference participants with the situation in Ukraine regarding the provision of human rights. It was noted that Ukraine's full adherence to the obligations it has assumed in this field is sometimes impeded because of the difficult economic situation in the state. For example, in connection with this, press circulation has fallen considerably, which to a certain extent limits the rights of citizens to get information. However, criticism addressed to Ukraine was practically not heard at this conference. On the contrary, a positive evaluation was made of the resolution of the problem of ethnic minorities in our country.

At the end of the briefing the issue regarding the blocking of the Danube by several public organizations of the Union Republic of Yugoslavia was raised. Yuriy Serheyev, a representative from the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported that the hold-up of Ukrainian vessels on the Danube had ceased after a Ukrainian note of protest had been delivered to the ambassador of that country.

Twenty odd Ukrainian ships, which had been detained by the Serbs, left for their designated ports on Sunday. The UN Security Council also supported Ukraine's protest on the matter of the blocking of the Danube. The issue of intensifying sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is being raised.

National Affairs

Kravchuk on 'Readiness' To Reduce Nuclear Arms

LD1910211493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk declared Kiev's readiness to reduce 130 nuclear missiles stationed on the Ukrainian territory after ratification of START-1 Treaty.

In his interview with journalists on Tuesday [19 October] he also noted that Kiev is ready to make a compromise with respect to the fate of 46 SS-24 missiles which means taking them off alert.

The president made it clear that at present Ukraine is able to re-target nuclear missiles stationed on its territory.

Vice Premier Valeriy Shmarov, in charge of the republic's military-industrial complex, who participated in the conversation pointed out that an opportunity of retargeting can be viewed only theoretically. In his words, it would be problematic for Ukraine to command its nuclear weapons without its northern neighbor (Russia—Interfax).

Supreme Council Holds Session, Plans Plenary Meetings

LD1910140993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1205 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Oct—At the Supreme Council session this morning, deputies began planning the work of plenary meetings. People's Deputy Anatoliy Yahoferov proposed, for example, that economic, social, military, and ecological considerations should be taken account of when examining the issue of national security. It was proposed that military issues should be examined at a closed session.

People's Council faction Chairman Ivan Zayets suggested that additionally there should be a chapter on informational security, that a group of issues concerning external political security should be examined separately, and that open meetings only should be held.

President Leonid Kravchuk promised to make a speech during the debate on national security issues but pointed out that since he needs to prepare thoroughly in order to consider this issue, discussion should be postponed.

Parliamentary Speaker Ivan Plyushch summed up the discussion of the agenda. He announced that Procurator-General Shyshkin and his first deputy Haysynskyy requested another week to think about it. In Ivan Plyushch's opinion, it would be better if a new procurator were to be elected and given an opportunity to choose his own Collegium.

With regard to the electoral law, the Supreme Council chairman noted that it is necessary for the standing commissions to reconsider the draft in order to coordinate all the proposals. He said that probably there would not be a mixed proportion of 50/50. A compromise decision is necessary if deputies, elected by a proportional system, are to comprise 10-15 percent. After this it would be possible to form a central electoral commission. Ivan Plyushch proposed that deputies should think about the candidacy for the post of parliamentary speaker.

The Supreme Council chairman said that the draft Ukrainian constitution will be published in the press in a week's time.

Deputies approved a decision to hold a closed doors meeting on national security issues.

The Supreme Council chairman raised the issue of the confirmation of Anatoliy Zlenko in the post of Ukrainian foreign minister. In advance of the vote, deputies put several questions to Anatoliy Zlenko. In reply to a question about increasing the military contingent of the Ukrainian forces in Yugoslavia, Zlenko said that Ukraine should take part in the actions in Yugoslavia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will insist on the presence there of Ukrainian troops. However, he noted that the issue should be decided on a voluntary basis. He also said that Ukraine has not signed the agreements on collective security of CIS countries and for this reason Ukrainian troops will not be taking part in protecting the border in Tajikistan.

In reply to the question whether the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is monitoring the problems of the Ukrainian embassies, there was talk, especially, of the Ukrainian Embassy in Bonn, Mr. Zlenko noted that premises have already been purchased for the Ukrainian embassy in Bonn, that the building is being renovated at present and will be ready for opening in about two months' time.

The resolution on appointing Anatoliy Zlenko to the post of foreign minister was approved by 245 votes.

National Security Discussed

LD1910173893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1544 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Oct—At the morning session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council deputies confirmed the appointment of Anatoliy Zlenko to the post of the Ukrainian foreign affairs minister.

Answering a question from Deputy Volodymyr Marchenko (Socialist Party), Leonid Kravchuk said that materials and estimates with regard to the plan and budget for 1994 will be submitted to standing commissions by 10 November. It is only afterward that one could specifically talk about new increased sizes of wages and pensions.

Deputies heard a report on the condition of, and measures to ensure the national security of Ukraine, delivered by Valeriy Shmarov, the deputy prime minister for issues of the VPK [military and industrial complex], and three reports relating to a package of issues on Ukraine's national security. They were on the degree of implementation of tasks to ensure Ukraine's national security conferred on the SBU [Security Service of Ukraine], [the report by the Security Service chief] Yevhen Marchuk; on measures in the sphere of the foreign economy to ensure Ukraine's national security, [the report by Foreign Affairs Minister] Anatoliy Zlenko; and on the situation with, and urgent measures on heightening the combat readiness of the ZSU [Ukrainian Armed Forces], and [the report by Defense Minister] Vitaliy Radetskyy.

On this package of issues, the following draft laws can be endorsed: A draft law on introducing changes and amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine, a draft resolution on setting up the Council of National Security of Ukraine, changes to other legislative enactments, Ukrainian military doctrine, a law on mobilization, a resolution on measures to preserve and further develop the space rocket potential, changes and amendments to the law on general military duty, and [a draft law] on the defense of Ukraine. It was proposed that 6 December should be appointed as Ukrainian Armed Forces Day. It was on that day in 1991 that the Law on the Armed Forces was adopted. It was also proposed that a draft law on state secrets should be examined.

Proposals were made to introduce the post of the chief of the general staff, whose candidacy should be submitted by the president for confirmation by the Supreme Council, and the post of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. It was suggested that laws should be changed to accommodate a provision, to the effect that both servicemen and civilians could be appointed to the posts of defense minister and his deputies.

Amended Military Doctrine Adopted

LD2010093593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0755 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Excerpt] A closed session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine was held yesterday. [passage omitted] Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, and Tarasenko, deputy chairman of the commission on Ukraine's defense and state security, presented the draft military doctrine of Ukraine, which was adopted by deputies almost without discussion.

The difference between this draft and its earlier version lies in the fact that the formulation, "Ukraine does not consider any state as its adversary" has been changed to "Ukraine will consider its potential adversary to be a state whose consistent policy constitutes a military danger to Ukraine."

The author of this amendment is former defense minister Kostyantyn Morozov. The amendment to point 1.3 of the previous version of the doctrine, which noted that Ukraine adheres to the nonnuclear principles: Not to accept, manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, reads, "Having become the owner of nuclear weapons through historical circumstances, Ukraine will never sanction their use and excludes the threat to use nuclear weapons from its foreign policy arsenal. In future, Ukraine intends to become a nonnuclear state and links the reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons with the appropriate actions by other nuclear states and the granting by them and by the world community of reliable security guarantees."

Kravchuk Extends Decree on Soldiers' Housing

LD1910174793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] A decree by the president of Ukraine on additional measures to assist housing construction for service members, the effect of the Ukrainian president's decree of 1 July 1993 on investment in housing construction and purchase of property for servicemen of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and their families, is extended to include investment in housing construction and purchase of property for Ukraine's border troops service members, Ukraine's security service, the National Guard of Ukraine, as well as for veterans of the Afghan war and military conflicts in other countries, their families, and the families of those killed.

Defense Minister Radetskyy on Armed Forces Issues

WS2010102893 Lvov MOLODA HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 14 Oct 93 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy by Viktor Shapoval; place and date not given]

[Text] [Shapoval] What is the aim of your visit to Lvov?

[Radetskyy] We have been conducting a drill for staff personnel and commanders. I decided to visit this region, to acquaint myself with the situation and with local problems, and to listen to Ciscarpathian Military District [PrykVO] commander's proposals.

[Shapoval] Will you continue Kostyantyn Morozov's line?

[Radetskyy] I will pursue the line of building independent Ukraine's Armed Forces.

[Shapoval] Is it not time Ukrainian was spoken in the Ukrainian Armed Forces?

[Radetskyy] I would not hasten this process, because haste always evokes opposition. The Ukrainian language should be introduced gradually. Besides, we need funds that are barely being earmarked. Only then, we will gradually introduce Ukrainian.

Take these drills, for instance. They are being conducted in Ukrainian, and I, a genuine Ukrainian from Cherkasy Oblast, sometimes have problems with military terminology, because I spent 30 years outside Ukraine. We need dictionaries and textbooks.

[Shapoval] Do you feel comfortable at the new post?

[Radetskyy] No. When people congratulate me I say: "You should rather sympathize."

[Shapoval] Was the appointment a surprise to you?

[Radetskyy] Yes.

[Shapoval] Have you signed the first order already? If not, what will you start with?

[Radetskyy] I have not signed a single order yet and probably will not do it soon. The only thing I did was to sign temporary manuals adopted by the president.

[Shapoval] Who was the first foreign defense minister to congratulate you on the appointment?

[Radetskyy] It was Russian Defense Minister Grachov.

[Shapoval] When will a military doctrine be adopted and what should be done with the Army's financial problems?

[Radetskyy] I think that the military doctrine will be adopted in the near future. I will discuss this issue with PrykVO commander Vasyl Sobkov. Earlier, I asked him to draft concrete proposals on a number of issues. These proposals will be submitted to the Military-Technical Department.

We should not save money at the cost of the Army. However, I think that we should form a small, modern, mobile and manageable army.

[Shapoval] When you were Odessa Military District commander, you were accused of opposing the Ukrainian Officers' Union. What is your attitude to this organization from a defense minister's perspective? Do you still insist on forming an alternative union?

[Radetskyy] When I was Odessa District commander, I was accused of various things. These problems would not have existed had I been a private or a noncommissioned officer. My attitude is positive toward any organization not damaging the Armed Forces. However, I will never deal with wreckers.

[Shapoval] Did the former defense minister personally hand over his office to you?

[Radetskyy] A minister does not have to hand over his office to his successor. Morozov and I met, and we had telephone conversations.

[Shapoval] Do you think that you have a chance to keep the post after the next Supreme Council elections?

[Radetskyy] I do not know. I think not.

[Shapoval] Have you agreed to meet with Russian Defense Minister Grachov?

[Radetskyy] No, although such a meeting is necessary to discuss the issues of the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear arms.

Radetskyy Visits Troops, Answers Reporters' Questions

PM2010103393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Bogdanovskiy on meeting held by Defense Minister Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy with unidentified reporters at the Carpathian Military District "recently": "New Ukrainian Defense Minister Begins by Visiting Troops. Vitaliy Radetskyy Advocates Most Speedy Meeting With Pavel Grachev. Kostyantyn Morozov Ready To Swap General's Uniform for Ukrainian Parliamentary Deputy's 'Shirt'"]

[Text] [Bogdanovskiy] Lvov—Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy, the new Ukrainian defense minister, recently attended command-staff exercises, visited a number of units and subunits, and met with Reporters.

[Unidentified Reporter] How will you continue the line pursued by your predecessor Kostyantyn Morozov?

[Radetskyy] I will continue our state's line and build Ukraine's Armed Forces.

[Reporter] Do you feel comfortable in your new post?

[Radetskyy] No.

[Reporter] When in your opinion will Ukraine's military doctrine be adopted and what is to be done about the impoverishment of the Army?

[Radetskyy] I think that the Ukrainian Supreme Council will adopt a military doctrine in the near future. I do not think that one should economize on the Army, it is necessary to create a small, modern, mobile, manageable Army. This involves a very great many problems.

[Reporter] Is it not time for Ukraine's Armed Forces to switch to using the Ukrainian language?

[Radetskyy] I would not rush to do that. The Ukrainian language must be introduced gradually. This requires a considerable amount of money, which is not being allocated now in practice. Take our current exercises. The documents were drawn up in Ukrainian. But I, a true Ukrainian from Cherkass Oblast, sometimes have problems with military terminology, and other people find the same. Literature and dictionaries are needed, but there are none.

[Reporter] Who was the first defense minister in another state to congratulate you on your new appointment?

[Radetskyy] Russia's Pavel Grachev.

[Reporter] Do you think it is necessary to meet with him?

[Radetskyy] It is essential.

[Reporter] Do you have a chance of still being defense minister after the Supreme Council elections?

[Radetskyy] I do not know. Most likely, no.

[Reporter] Has Kostyantyn Morozov handed everything over to you?

[Radetskyy] A minister does not hand things over to a minister. We have not met, we have spoken on the telephone.

[Bogdanovskiy] That was how Col. Gen. Vitaliy Radetskyy, Ukraine's new defense minister, "fended off" Reporters' questions at the Carpathian Military District. As for Kostyantyn Morozov, he is spending all his time at his dacha now. And receiving no Reporters. Here is a curious detail from his current life. At a Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] function Mikhaylo Garyn said that Kostyantyn Morozov has given his preliminary agreement to stand in the Supreme Council elections as part of the team backed by the URP. So the former minister will probably swap his military uniform for a Ukrainian parliamentary deputy's "shirt."

New Naval Chief Explains Return, Difficult Tasks

AU1910141393 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 15 Oct 93 p 1

[Interview with Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, Navy commander, by Volodymyr Prytula; place and date not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On 13 October, Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, the new commander of Ukraine's naval forces, began to fulfill his duties. He granted our correspondent his first interview in this capacity.

[Prytula] Mr. Admiral, until recently, you commanded the Strategic Atomic Submarines Flotilla. According to your colleagues, you are a highly skilled professional and you had wonderful prospects in the Russian Naval Fleet. However, you returned to Ukraine. How and why has this happened?

[Bezkorovaynyy] In April 1993, I received an offer to join Ukraine's naval forces and immediately agreed to do so because the fate of Ukraine, its sovereignty, and the serious problems associated with the building of Ukraine's naval forces have always been a matter of concern for me. I realized that the situation in which Ukraine found itself during the formation of its own naval forces is extremely uncommon. I do not know any other state that would create its fleet in such complicated conditions as does Ukraine. We have a wonderful ship building industry, but we must build our navy, so to speak, from a clean sheet of paper. It is clear that, in this situation, professional assistance is necessary. I stated my readiness to join Ukraine's Armed Forces right after it was declared that a naval force would be created.

[Prytula] As far as I am concerned, you were named as a candidate for the post of commander of the Black Sea Fleet?

[Bezkorovaynyy] Yes, Ukrainian President Kravchuk did propose my candidacy for that post. However, the Russian side rejected the proposal in a sharp form. I think that it was because the Russians wanted an officer who would largely be subordinated to them. If I had been appointed, the situation around the Black Sea Fleet would have been totally different.

[Prytula] Mr. Admiral, as you already said, Ukraine is now resolving the difficult problem of building its own fleet. How do you see its resolution?

[Bezkorovaynyy] The present situation that has taken shape around the Black Sea Fleet and the building of Ukraine's naval forces is so complicated that it will be necessary to put in colossal efforts to direct these processes into the practical channel of building Ukraine's fleet.

I believe that we must draw an important conclusion from the historical experience of building the Soviet Fleet and treat the cause of building our own naval forces as a task of national significance and a cause for all the people of Ukraine.

Editorial reference: Volodymyr Herasymovych Bezkorovaynyy was born on 16 August 1944 in the town of Uman in Cherkasy Oblast to a worker's family with many children. He finished nine grades of school in Uman and then studied and worked in Daghestan. In 1961, he was admitted to the Caspian Higher Naval School in Baku. After graduating in 1967 from the navigators' department, Lieutenant Bezkorovaynyy was posted to the Northern Fleet, where he covered the path from commander of the combat unit of the old-model submarine to commander of the Strategic Atomic Submarines Flotilla—the elite "assault" formation of the previously Soviet and then Russian Fleet.

In 1988, M, Gorbachev conferred the rank of rear admiral to V. Bezkorovaynyy, and in 1992, B. Yeltsin—the rank of vice admiral. It is now up to Leonid Makarovych [Kravchuk]....

Conflict Over Navy Building in Sevastopol Viewed

WS2010112993 Kiev UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY in Ukrainian No 20, 18 Oct 93

[Text] President Kravchuk's edict has nominated Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy Ukrainian Navy commander, replacing Vice Admiral Borys Kozhyn. In an interview with unidentified reporters of Sevastopol Television, the former commander said that he had anticipated his dismissal. According to Borys Kozhyn, he applied for the post at the Ukrainian Armed Forces Command in the summer, having failed to establish productive relations with either the Ukrainian Navy personnel or the Black Sea Fleet Command.

Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy was invited by Defense Minister Morozov from the Russian Navy to the Ukrainian Armed Forces. It was planned that after Ukraine and Russia signed an agreement on unified command of the Black Sea Fleet, the vice admiral would assume the post of chief of staff from the Ukrainian side. However, this variant was ignored and Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy was appointed Defense Ministry advisor for Navy issues.

The 49-year-old vice admiral was born in Uman. His fate was long connected with the North Fleet where he occupied all the posts from first assistant submarine commander to division commander. In military circles of the former Soviet Union he was considered one of the most experienced submarine admirals. It is interesting that Bezkorovaynyy knows Black Sea Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin. Over a period of 1981-83 both served in the North Fleet where Baltin was first deputy submarine flotilla commander and Bezkorovaynyy was this unit's chief of staff.

While answering a question on the possibility of selling the Ukrainian share of the Black Sea Fleet, Bezkorovaynyy said to a UNIAN correspondent: "The Ukrainian Navy does not need ships equipped for operations in the Mediterranean Sea or in the oceans. Thus, we may give them up." In the vice admiral's opinion, Ukraine should place an emphasis on primarily building mobile ships of small and medium classes.

Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy emphasized that relations with the Black Sea Fleet will be based on mutual understanding.

It might seem that the assuming of the post by a new commander, who is in addition Vice Admiral Baltin's former friend-in-arms, will bring peace to relations between Ukrainian and Black Sea sailors. However, on Bezkorovaynyy's first day in office, another conflict flared up in Sevastopol and divided officers into two hostile groups. Ukrainian marines were ordered to guard the newly constructed building whose eight apartments had been allocated to Ukrainian Navy officers and 197—for the Black Sea Fleet personnel. The Black Sea Fleet Military Council voiced its protest saying that Russian officers were prevented from moving into their apartments.

At the same time, the Ukrainian Navy press center made public a declaration on the "uncivilized approach to dividing accommodations in Sevastopol on the part of the Black Sea Fleet Command." The declaration, in particular, underlines that according to an existing agreement, apartments for Navy and Fleet officers were to be divided in proportion to the number of unemployed—25 and 75 percent correspondingly. However, in the third quarter of 1993, Eduard Baltin allocated only eight apartments to Ukrainian officers, instead of 75. The Ukrainian side is financing 53 percent of the construction projects, while the Russian side—only 47 percent. The press center also pointed out that the Ukrainian

Navy Command had repeatedly attempted to resolve this problem by means of constructive dialogue with the Black Sea Fleet Command, however, the latter's attitude toward this dialogue was negative. It has become known that Eduard Baltin refused to participate in a meeting with newly appointed Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy, visiting Sevastopol, and Vice Admiral Bezkorovaynyy to which he had been invited. There were plans to discuss, among other things, the accommodation problem during the meeting.

However, a compromise might be reached soon. Baltin has sent one of his assistants, General Major Boris Litvinov, to negotiate with Bezkorovaynyy. It has been decided to form a joint committee for resolving the conflict. The group of Ukrainian marines has abandoned the building that they were guarding.

Government May Not Close Chernobyl Power Station

LD1910193093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0757 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, [no dateline as received]—In the last few days the press center of Ukraine's Environment Ministry circulated a statement that confirmed its position regarding the future work of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station, in particular, its loyalty to the "green policy." Taking into account the economic and sociopolitical situation in Ukraine, the statement says, "the issue of temporarily suspending the Ukrainian Supreme Council's decision, until April 1994, on decommissioning the Chernobyl nuclear electric power stations reactors may be raised," since it remains one of the few Ukrainian enterprises that is working constantly and profitably. In the last three quarters, the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station produced 8.587 million kWh of electricity for Ukraine's energy system, or 115 percent of the state order.

Government Justifies Communists Party's Registration

AU1910135693 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 15 Oct 93 p 2

[Statement by Justice Ministry; place and date not given]

[Text] Individual mass media have recently published materials that deliberately or inadvertently distort the fact of registering Ukraine's Communist Party.

The Ministry of Justice brings to the attention of Ukraine's population the fact that, on 4 August 1993, it received a statement from founders of the Communist Party with a request to register that party.

Upon studying the constituent documents and the statute of Ukraine's Communist Party, it was established that the delegates of the congress, at which the party was created, adopted a decision on restoring Ukraine's Communist Party, whose activity had been banned by the edict of Ukraine's Supreme Council Presidium of 30 August 1991, and on recognizing it as a successor, in what concerns property, to the CPSU and to Ukraine's Communist Party.

All of this contradicted the resolution by the Presidium of Ukraine's Supreme Council of 14 May 1993, edict of Ukraine's Supreme Council Presidium of 30 August 1991 "On Banning the Activity of Ukraine's Communist Party," and Ukraine's law "On Converting the Property of Ukraine's Communist Party and the CPSU Into State Property."

Proceeding from this, on 15 September 1993, the Ministry of Justice, based on Article 16 of Ukraine's law "On Public Associations," refused to register Ukraine's Communist Party.

On 4 October 1993, leaders of Ukraine's Communist Party submitted to the Ministry of Justice the final protocol on the nominal questioning of delegates to Ukraine's Communist Party congress that was held on 19 June 1993 in Donetsk on altering the resolution of the congress and the statute of Ukraine's Communist Party. In conformity with the protocol, a new political party of proponents of the communist idea—Ukraine's Communist Party—was created.

More than 21,000 Ukrainian citizens having the voting right supported, by their signatures, the creation of Ukraine's Communist Party. Article 15 of Ukraine's law "On Public Associations" stipulates that the creation of a political party must be supported by signatures of at least 1,000 voters. By the day of registration, the party united 46,000 members.

The program of the party and its statute do not contradict Ukraine's Constitution or current legislation, and therefore there were no grounds for refusing to register Ukraine's Communist Party.

Ukraine's Communist Party was registered on 5 October 1993 by No. 505.

During registering this, as well as other parties, including People's Rukh [Movement for Perestroyka] and public organizations, the Ministry of Justice was not governed by political views but only proceeded from the current legislation.

Belarus

Shushkevich Begins Official Visit to Bulgaria

LD1910224993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Abrosimov]

[Text] Sofia October 19 TASS—President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich of Belarus signed in Sofia today an Interstate Agreement on friendly Relations and Cooperation between the two countries.

This event was central on the first day of the official visit by the head of the Belarus parliament to the Bulgarian capital.

According to Zhelev and Shushkevich, the first agreement of this kind between the two republics symbolizes the beginning of new fruitful and promising relations between them.

The Bulgarian president praised the Belarusian leader for his "resolute support of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his struggle against revenge-seeking forces".

Belarusian-German Economic Council Meets in Minsk

LD1910225893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1650 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk October 19 TASS—A working group for problems of the market and economic reform of the Belarusian-German Council for Economic Cooperation ended its session in Minsk on Tuesday [19 October].

During the session which continued for two days discussions were held in three groups—the development of minor and medium size entrepreneurship, finances and banks, agrarian sector.

Herr Kittel, a plenipotentiary representative of the German Government for consultative activities in Eastern Europe, said during a meeting with journalists at a national press centre that the sides are satisfied with the results of the discussion. The group believes that its main task is to render assistance to Belarus in finding its own ways for the formation of market relations. Such assistance is closely connected with credits allocated to Belarus by Western countries.

Touching upon privatisation problems, Herr Kittel pointed out that privatisation is being carried out in the republic at a slow pace, but there are still possibilities to step it up.

For his part, first deputy chairman of the Belarusian Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Mikhail Marinich, said that Germany has become a reliable partner for Belarus, adding that joint efforts should yield good results.

Kebich Sees Germany as Belarus' 'Major Partner'

LD1910231193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich considers Germany "as the republic's major partner in Europe," he declared this at the meeting with the delegation of the German Bundestag headed by chairman of the parliamentary commission Arnulf Kriedner.

According to Kebich, Belarus and Germany have established "good political and economic ties." He underlined that Minsk "has never been and will never appeal for outside help." "We rely upon our own forces and mutually beneficial cooperation," said the premier.

At the same time he indicated that Belarus' cooperation with the West is continuing in parallel with the strengthening of its relations with the CIS countries, and "primarily with Russia."

Shushkevich on Elections, Treaty With Russia

WS2010103393 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich by Valyantsin Zhdanko: "What Will Europe Say When Our Supreme Soviet Refuses To Hold Early Elections"]

[Text] **On 8 and 9 October, our state leaders participated in a European Council meeting in Vienna. Belarus has recently applied for membership in this prestigious international organization that unites 30 European countries. At yesterday's briefing devoted to the Vienna meeting, I managed to ask Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich some questions.**

[Zhdanko] How would it be received by European Council members, which have so far considered Belarus as a country striving for democracy, if the Supreme Soviet refuses to hold early legislative elections?

[Shushkevich] I would not like to discuss so many options and prospects. I have already voiced my opinion on this issue. I will make any effort to ensure that events proceed according to the schedule adopted by the Supreme Soviet, and which is also supported by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. However, this is a very difficult position for me. Let us concentrate on the most logical option. If something goes wrong we will think about what to do next. We should not follow the most extreme option straight away.

I spoke about it in Vienna. I said that last year's Supreme Soviet resolution on early elections was confirmed by the

Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, the discussions on the new electoral law, and the draft Constitution. By the way, all this is well known to the international experts who analyze our new legislation.

...Now, members of the Presidium will meet with people's deputies, staff members, and various factions. At the beginning, we must reach a common understanding. The Supreme Soviet Presidium has already adopted its approach to this issue. And then... we will hold joint consultations—this is a necessary procedure. If we do not win the support of two thirds of all deputies such talks will be fruitless.

[Zhdanko] Do you think that the latest events in Moscow will somehow influence the ratification of Belarusian-Russian agreements?

[Shushkevich] You know the Supreme Soviet Presidium's opinion about that. I am convinced that Russia will sooner or later establish such structures that will ratify these agreements. This is Russia's internal problem. We should declare our readiness to do it. I believe that Russia will delay its decisions on this issue up to next year, no further.

During the Vienna meeting, Belarusian officials held several meetings with European leaders. The main answer that summit members expected from new independent states was whether they respect human rights and intend to build democratic systems. One of the most important theses that was included in Stanislav Shushkevich's speech was that Belarus is entitled to more financial aid in exchange for the reduction of its arsenals, at least more than it is currently receiving.

Shushkevich Expects 'Radical Cabinet Reshuffles'

MK1910140193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 67, 19 Oct 93 (signed to press 19 Oct) p 4

[Dmitriy Zhdannikov report: "People's Front Campaigns for Government's Resignation. Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Predicts Radical Cabinet Reshuffles"]

[Text] The standoff between Belarus' executive and legislative branches seems to have entered a new phase. This is signaled by the latest statement by Stanislav Shushkevich, head of state and the country's Supreme Soviet chairman. He thinks that a major reshuffle in the Council of Ministers is imminent during the coming Supreme Soviet session, and "if the question is not raised by the government itself, it will be raised by the deputies." This conviction perhaps came to the chairman of the Belarus parliament when a considerable part of the deputies, members of the Belarus People's Front, spoke for the resignation of the current cabinet lead by Vyacheslav Kebich.

People's Front leader Zenon Poznyak stated in an Interfax interview that the policy of the current cabinet "represents a threat to the country's sovereignty." These fears were occasioned by the premier's repeated statements to the effect that he has a sense of guilt before the people for the Belovezhskiy agreements. He is on record as having repeatedly stated that virtually none of the agreements at the CIS level are being implemented, hence one should think about reviving the Union, albeit in a new shape. Mr. Kebich has of late been visited by this sad thought on more than one occasion, which he has been telling to various well attended audiences. The result was that the Belarus premier gradually became "persona non grata" among the parliamentarians and among the head of state's entourage, who do not hide their conviction that only by enjoying complete sovereignty will the country be able to overcome the economic difficulties.

Having positively buried the present composition of the cabinet with his statement, Stanislav Shushkevich also estimated for how much longer his parliament will endure. In his opinion, the Supreme Soviet cannot remain in its present composition longer than until March 1994—the optimal date for calling early elections for the country's top legislature. In saying that, Mr. Shushkevich does not go back on his idea that it is necessary to set up a constitutional assembly of 310 representatives. They would have to pass a new constitution enshrining in law the republic's sovereignty. The constitutional assembly, according to the parliament chairman, will concentrate on the making of laws and will keep closer tabs on the doings of the cabinet. Very probably, the people's deputies who, Mr. Shushkevich thinks, are supposed to speak during the coming parliament session for a radical cabinet reshuffle may decide to go ahead with even more serious measures suggested by the People's Front leaders. These boil down to the creation of a coalition government for the period until the early elections. The provisional government's tasks, Mr. Poznyak believes, "will be market-oriented changes, the introduction of the country's own currency and financial system, the overcoming of the energy crisis—and all this is to be done while the interests of state sovereignty are upheld to the maximum."

It is not only the parliamentarians' resentment of the present cabinet's ideological mind-set that argues in favor of the creation of a coalition government, but also the cabinet's numerous financial debacles. The most serious of them during the past year was that the national currency rate fell on 14 October from 1.5 to 3 bunnies [reference to Belarus' paper money, which carries pictures of animals including that of a bunny] to one ruble owing to the fact that the government stopped selling to Belarus enterprises the Russian currency at reduced rates.

Thus, the present cabinet's future is in question. Will the government reshuffle amount to radical changes? They may if the people's deputies could be sure that the coalition government would be able to "come into power" reasonably quickly.

Deputy Parliament Speaker Discusses Reforms

LD1810201093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] The Minsk CIS Headquarters has started finalizing the draft agreements on the creation of an economic union, said the first deputy chairman of the speaker of the Belarusian Parliament, Vyacheslav Kuznetsov.

In an exclusive interview with Interfax he said that the heads of the CIS governments approved the schedule for preparing seventeen top-priority inter-government agreements in five main spheres: economic and trade, business, finance, legal and social.

Kuznetsov said that experts would coordinate in Minsk October 19 the Belarusian draft agreement to adjust price and taxation policies.

He also believes that bringing Belarusian economic legislation in line with the Russian one, as is planned before next year following the signing of the documents on creating an economic union and the new type ruble zone, will not cause great problems because the Belarusian parliament did not approve any laws to help Belarus withdraw from the ruble zone.

Kuznetsov called for earliest elimination of what he described as parliament's outdated resolution on the protection of the consumer market that, under the present conditions, hampers Belarusian free trade with other CIS countries. The resolution played its role by preventing earlier the mass outflow of consumer goods from the republic. But there is no longer any need for it (the resolution), because the economic union and the common market has been initiated, believes Kuznetsov.

He admitted that Russia is far ahead of Belarus in its economic reforms, but voiced doubt in the need to carry out reforms similar to those in Russia. The economic union does not imply that Belarus should follow the Russian reforms, he said. The members of the economic union should coordinate their policies in principle, without going into details.

Kuznetsov spoke highly about a balanced policy carried out by the Belarusian government led by Vyacheslav Kebich and added that the government's position had saved Belarus from many mistakes committed by Russia during its policy of reforms, for example, during the privatization campaign.

Kuznetsov said that supposedly that the bilateral clearing between Belarus and Russia would be canceled shortly.

This will take place only when the economic union begins working, he said. The rates of the Belarusian and Russian rubles will equalize, he believes, only after the Belarusian Parliament ratifies at its next session the agreement on creating a new ruble zone.

Asked about the possible resignation at the next session of Parliament Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich, Kuznetsov said that the discontent over the economic situation may result in the Parliament decision to hold early elections next spring. Despite serious claims that will be offered to Shushkevich by his political opponents, there seems to be no resignation, believes Kuznetsov.

Shushkevich himself confirmed his adherence to the idea of early elections next March.

He said that it is dangerous to propose to dissolve councils in Belarus in the current situation. He believes that the republic has all conditions to bring the country smoothly to a better life.

According to Shushkevich, there will be heavy government reshuffling at the next session. He added, though, that if the government does not put the question on the agenda, deputies will do this.

Legislative Committee Says Some Media 'Disloyal'

WS2010103493 Minsk MINSKAYA PRAVDA in Belarusian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Press Service]

[Text] A meeting of the Permanent Committee for Issues of Mass Media and Human Rights has been held at the Belarusian Supreme Soviet. The topic was "State Sovereignty, Constitutional Law, and Mass Media." The committee has assumed that certain media, including the state ones, are disloyal to the Belarusian statehood and sovereignty.

The resolution adopted by the committee emphasizes that the Department of Information and Relations With Citizens as well as the Press, Radio, and Television Department of the Cabinet of Ministers should be dissolved, since they duplicate the activities of the Ministry of Information and the National Press Center. The Ministry of Information has been advised to reevaluate the expediency of the position of the Chairman of the Belarusian State Broadcasting Company held by A.P. Stalyarov.

Army's Problems Viewed; 'Major' Reform Urged

WS2010103193 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in Belarusian 7 Oct 93 p 2

[Article by V. Ishchanka: "To Serve Motherland or To Serve a Term?"]

[Text] Summer drafting to the Belarusian Armed Forces has been completed, but the Army received practically no replenishment. A growing number of young people ignore military service. Assembly points at military commissariats have become unusually quiet—no more sounds of crying mothers or fathers' words of advice. The militia has to bring draftees to military commissariats by force and everyone brought here will have to serve for two or three dodgers. Young men use all tricks to get an appropriate medical certificate. Not all can enter higher educational institutions with military training granting relief from active service. Thus, draftees often simulate all kinds of diseases ranging from arrhythmia and chronic bronchitis to poor eyesight and anuria. If doctors fail to see through these cases, these people will evade the draft, while boys with asthma, allergies, and spinal defects will be called up.

The reconstruction of the Army failed. A man is still helpless in the face of the Law on General Military Duty and is devoid of rights when in the Army. The Army is poorly trained, insufficiently supplied, and undernourished. Soldiers are sometimes sent home to eat their fill. Instead of military drills, soldiers's days are filled with sweeping barracks, loading boxes, unloading potatoes, carrying coal, cleaning latrines, and whitewashing fences.

Morning cross country 10 km races with 25 kilos of equipment have long been forgotten. Young soldiers are so weak they would collapse on the second km and neither kicks nor sergeants' obscenities would make them stand up. Sometimes soldiers sleep while guarding a munition depot big enough to blow up one half of Minsk. Military units resemble homes for the handicapped.

Our Army is as sick as our economy and it has a lot of problems. There is no combat spirit to speak of. A depoliticized army is even less combat-ready—as a rule, people do not understand why they are imprisoned for a year and a half. A majority of soldiers believe that military service is a complete waste of time.

What kind of an army do we need? Belarus has one of the largest armies in Europe—160,000 men. Ukraine, with a population five times the size, has an army of 230,000. Major changes can hardly be anticipated in the nearest future. The Soviet Union invented an original way to protect peace—by building mountains of weapons sufficient for destroying mankind a thousand times. Our military-industrial complex flooded half of the world with tanks free of charge or for a bunch of bananas. However, it never turned its face toward the country's problems.

The Belarusian Army can be and should be radically reformed. We cannot afford a powerful army, while a small army that is purely symbolic makes no sense. In my opinion, we should form a small contractual army. By the way, the army was professional in the days of Kiev Rus; and the Russian Army before 1917, was considered one of the best in the world. Does the Belarusian Army need 160,000 shaved heads? High and vocational school graduates should not be allowed to even come near the newest weapons. We need much fewer people of quite a different quality.

These people would create the framework for "quick response forces," capable of resolving any local conflict and used during emergencies—floods, fires, and major accidents. Such forces will only need some 30,000 commandos of the same kind as airborne troops or marines. For instance Lithuania has only two kinds of armed forces—the Border Troops and the field brigade "Iron Wolf," their total strength being only 40,000.

This is my vision of a professional army. After graduating from a military college or a special faculty of a higher educational institution, a young man would sign a contract for five or 10 years and would be directed to some garrison and settle down with his family in a cottage. After work, he would water flowers in his garden, and after the contract expires, he should be able to buy a similar private cottage in any part of Belarus. If he agrees to prolong his contract for two or three more terms, his fate should arouse envy in all those who refused to serve in the army.

A contractual army is expensive but no more expensive than constellations of golden stars on Defense Ministry generals' insignia, thousands of officers, dozens of garrisons, and hundreds of military commissariats.

Defense Ministry Sells Surplus Equipment

PM2010091193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Kovalev: "Belarus Defense Ministry Has 'Retired' Into Commerce"]

[Text] Minsk—In the settlement of Kolosovo near Minsk the Belarus Defense Ministry has organized an exhibition and sale of military-technical equipment released in connection with the reduction and reforming of the republic's army. Various models of automotive and engineering equipment are on display.

According to Major General Mikhail Gets, chief of the Belarus Defense Ministry commercial directorate, the exhibition has attracted great attention from state and commercial enterprises and firms. Over two weeks army assets worth over 500 million rubles have been sold. The ministry has decided to extend the exhibition's duration.

Moldova

Foreign Minister Tau Reviews Recent Visit to U.S.

AU1910214693 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 13 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Nicolae Tau by Romeo Nadasan; place and date not given: "The Truth About the Dniester Region"]

[Text] [Nadasan] Mr. Minister, I would like to ask you to outline the contacts that you have had over the period of almost a week that you spent visiting the United States.

[Tau] I arrived on Monday evening [4 October] traveling by TAROM [Romanian airline]. On Tuesday I attended the session of the UN General Assembly and on the same day I met with several officials, including the Czech foreign affairs minister and the prime minister of Liechtenstein. Following that I attended the reception held by Butrus Butrus-Ghali in honor of heads of states and governments and the foreign affairs ministers gathered in New York to attend the UN General Assembly session. On Wednesday [6 October] I left for Washington where I met with officials of the State Department and the Office of the National Security Advisor. I also met with several State Department officials responsible for relations between the United States and Moldova. We principally discussed issues related to bilateral relations. I briefed them on the current situation, that is on the current stage reached in the settlement of the conflict east of the Dniester River [the Dniester region]. On Friday [8 October] I addressed the [UNGA] session, about which you have also informed your readers, and in the afternoon I met with the UN secretary general.

[Nadasan] Related to the events in Moscow, what consequences do you think they could have upon the settlement of the conflict in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova, and generally, upon the whole CIS?

[Tau] That is an internal issue of Russia's, but people from Moldova were also involved, because, as you may know, mercenaries from Tiraspol participated in the events, trying to eliminate President Yeltsin. Now they are trying to prove to the international community that the Tiraspol separatists are merely a bunch of innocent babies who are not guilty of anything. But if that is the case and they are really not guilty at all, why do they always avoid our proposal like the plague whenever we suggest bringing in foreign observers, such as members of the CSCE mission in Chisinau, to the Moldovan-Russian negotiations that have been going on for more than a year? Misleading news, which I also mentioned in my address at the UN session, circulated by the Russian mass media, still has some effect. The Russians realize that, if the international community learns about those things, they will have to pull out their 14th Army from the territory of the Republic of Moldova. That is why they do not agree to having CSCE observers' attend our negotiations. I talked that over with Mr. Butrus-Ghali. That is not a very large military force, only about 7,000 men. They could leave the country within two hours. Of course, we do not object to having those 3,000 or 4,000 people who wish to stay on to do so. However, they should then engage in normal [civilian] activity under the current circumstances offered them by Moldova. We think that we should brief the international community both at the United Nations and within other international bodies whenever we can. We should brief them not with fear. Unfortunately many states that have recently gained independence do brief with fear. We want to call things by their own names. That might be an unpleasant experience for the representatives of certain states attending the session, but the majority of the delegations came to us afterwards and congratulated us. Perhaps we managed to give them more information, and that is all we intended to do.

Nicolae Tau, PRC Deputy Minister Discuss Ties

AU2010081193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Mircea Dascaliuc report from Chisinau]

[Text] In Chisinau, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova met again in plenum. The meeting adopted the amendments to the points of the Constitution that refer to elections and the decision on the application of the law on parliamentary elections. The latter document establishes, among other things, the date the electoral campaign begins—27 October 1993—the composition of the Central Electoral Commission, and the tasks of the Supreme Justice Court, which will replace the Constitutional Court that has not yet been set up in the Republic of Moldova.

As proposed by a member of the Christian-Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, the parliament adopted a declaration that emphasizes that the parliament compels the president and government to apply urgent and effective measures for the immediate and unconditional release of the five political detainees in Tiraspol. The statement once again appeals to the leadership of Russia asking it to intervene to stop this judicial farce and to intervene with the authorities of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic so that the detainees may be turned over to the legal judicial authorities in Chisinau as soon as possible.

Nicolae Tau, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova, also held a meeting today with Tian Zengpei, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PRC. During the talks, the Chinese guest expressed his opinion on the progress of the second round of consultations between the foreign departments of the two countries. In this sense, he emphasized the multitude of common points and close views that exist in assessing the international problems discussed.

Minister Tau especially insisted on expressing thanks to the Chinese side for the support given to Moldova in the United Nations. He also mentioned that bilateral relations between Moldova and the PRC will continue to expand through the opening in Beijing, as soon as possible, of the embassy of the Republic of Moldova, the press communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes.

Along another train of thought, BASAPRESS news agency today announces, citing well-informed sources within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that Nicolae Tau will soon be appointed ambassador of the Republic of Moldova to the United States of America.

General Lebed Regrets Army's Actions 3-4 Oct

PM1910134193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with General Aleksandr Lebed by Arkadiy Khantsevich in Tiraspol; date not given: "General

Aleksandr Lebed: Imagine How a Soldier Feels When Women in Tula Spit in His Face"]

[Text] [Khantsevich] Aleksandr Ivanovich, is it true that during the events in Moscow you received proposals from both sides?

[Lebed] Yes, some people did call. They introduced themselves incomprehensibly—"on behalf of the president." First of all I asked again: On whose behalf? On Rutskoy's, it turned out. I sent him packing... The guy didn't understand. The second guy who called was quicker on the uptake—he got the message the first time. Specific proposals? I won't even mention the first proposal—it was immediately unacceptable to me. I said I was not yet ready for the post of defense minister, I'm not educated enough. Then they suggested that I should make an appeal to the people. "What for?" I asked. "I am an Army commander, and that is where my functions end."

[Khantsevich] But nevertheless, you couldn't really be indifferent to what was happening in Moscow, could you?

[Lebed] I believe that a vast crime was committed. They could have done anything they wanted, but the Army should not have gotten involved. Can you imagine how a soldier feels today when he goes home to Tula or Ryazan and women spit in his face? This is what happened in 1917 when the country was divided into reds and whites. Does history teach us nothing?

[Khantsevich] You gave a news conference today at which you expressed your attitude to the stance taken by the Dniester region authorities regarding the events that took place. But your track record is one of banning political acts of this sort and ostentatiously obstructing both Moldavian and Dniester region leaders. What has compelled you to "appeal to the people" now?

[Lebed] I was compelled to do so by extraordinary circumstances—the ostrich-like policy of the Dniester region authorities which have hitherto denied that Tiraspol servicemen participated in the events around the White House. Yes, the obvious thing happened—I have facts and evidence that people from the Dniester region took part in the fighting in Moscow—I simply cannot tell you the details at the moment. Yes, this was clearly done without the knowledge of the Dniester Moldovan Republic president and Supreme Soviet. But it is unreasonable to deny the fact itself.

Nevertheless 10 days have already elapsed, and the Tiraspol authorities are coming out with incomprehensible statements: We are prepared, they say, to assist the law-enforcement organs in their investigation, but we ourselves did not send any gunmen to Moscow. This may well be so, but we need to look the truth in the eye and take steps to get to the truth. We already know the names of officers from the "Dniester" battalion who were killed at the White House—these were published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. So why deny the fact? I repeat: I do not want to give an assessment of the bloodshed that occurred. And I don't condemn the soldiers who put their head on the block—they were carrying out orders.

This is the task we must now address: We need to investigate who assumed the responsibility for ordering around human lives and sending them off to certain death. A year ago we warned that enormous consignments of weapons were leaving Tiraspol. These weapons have now fired... We possess the numbers of the assault rifles and snipers rifles that were seized at an earlier date from the 14th Army and have now been discovered in the vicinity of the White House. At the present time we need to pool our efforts in order to investigate this crime, not engage in demagoguery: It is not our business, it has nothing to do with us.

[Khantsevich] Your conflict with the local power structures, it appears, is nearing the end of the road. What are your plans for the immediate future?

[Lebed] I am a soldier and I will fulfill my mission to the end. When I found out 4 October that mobilization had been declared in Tiraspol—planned mobilization, as I was informed at the military commissariat—I said that I would declare war on whoever unleashed war first. I don't care who it is—Moldova, the Dniester region, or the devil with horns on. The Army should stick to its own business—ensuring peace on this earth.

Dniester's Caraman Denies Involvement

AU1910210193 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Oct 93 p 1

["Exclusive" telephone interview with Alexandru Caraman, vice president of the Dniester republic, by Constantin Lupu on 12 October: "The Whole Thing Is a Provocation"]

[Text] According to ITAR-TASS and other renowned international press agencies, the defenders of the White House in Moscow also included armed detachments from Tiraspol, especially those belonging to the Dniester Battalion (special troops of the "ministry of the interior" in Tiraspol.) There was speculation about whether the support granted to Khasbulatov and Rutskoy was not altogether alien to the "minister" of security in Tiraspol, Vadim Shevtsov, which actually is a pseudonym adopted by a man who used to be one of the leaders of the OMON special units that committed unimaginable crimes in Latvia.

Top officials in Moscow, including President Boris Yeltsin himself, have confirmed the involvement of the Dniester republic in the 3-4 October events in Moscow. It was no coincidence that the Russian authorities have suspended all financial assistance, hitherto granted with largesse, for the Tiraspol separatists.

Yesterday I contacted Alexandru Caraman, the vice president of the Dniester republic. I asked him directly whether he knows anything about the presence of fighters belonging to the Dniester Battalion among the defenders of the White House.

[Caraman] The whole thing is a provocation! As a matter of fact on Sunday [10 October] we, the leadership of the Dniester republic, sent a message to Russia stating that none of it was true.

[Lupu] In that case how did such news begin to circulate?

[Caraman] That question could be best answered by special bodies in Chisinau. They have filled everyone's heads with sheer lies!

[Lupu] President Yeltsin has also asserted publicly that you were involved in the events.

[Caraman] President Yeltsin has been misled himself.

[Lupu] Your minister of security, Vadim Shevtsov, is said to have stated that "in his soul" he feels close to the defenders of the White House. What is your opinion on that?

[Caraman] Do we not have a democracy? Each minister, including Shevtsov, has the right to voice his personal sympathy for various forces in Russia, even if they are called Khasbulatov or Rutskoy.

[Lupu] Do you also sympathize with them?

[Caraman] Is what I think of any importance?

That was the brief question that Caraman offered as an answer to my question to conclude our brief dialogue.

Transdniester Parliament Declines Lebed Resignation

LD1910233993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] On Tuesday [19 October] the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian Republic rejected the notice of the commander of the Transdniestrian-based 14th Russian Army General Aleksandr Lebed on giving up his deputies' mandate. The parliamentarians believe that this does not correspond to interests of the Tiraspol electors who entrusted the army commander with the deputies' mandate a month ago.

For the first time Lebed announced he was giving up his deputy's authorities on October 14. At that time the Transdniestrian Supreme Soviet did not agree to his arguments on participation of Transdniestrian fighters in the armed revolt on October 3-4 in Moscow supporting the former Russian parliament. On October 18 the general reconfirmed his intention to leave the Transdniestrian parliament by a written statement.

According to the agency Olviya-press, during his meeting with voters the previous Sunday in Tiraspol General Lebed recognized that "he acted incorrectly and made a mistake" in declaring his intention to move to a new place of service after giving up his deputies' mandate. He reaffirmed that he intends to continue his service in Transdniestria.

In an interview with Interfax State Secretary of the Transdniestrian Republic Valeriy Litskay assessed "emotions concerning Lebed" as "a well planned political game." The state secretary said that Moldova's and Russia's special services are interested in this game as "currently they are actively playing the Transdniestrian card." He emphasized that Transdniestria's fate largely depends on Moscow summit between Moldovan and Russian leadership scheduled for October 19.

Council of Europe Official Urges Pressure on Dniester

LD1910181393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1156 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau October 19 TASS—Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, has urged the countries bordering on Moldova to bring pressure to bear on the self-styled Dniester Republic in order to prevent death penalties from being passed on men, whom the Tiraspol authorities accuse of having committed terroristic acts during last year's armed conflict in the area.

In her message, addressed to Chisinau, Lalumiere stresses that the threat looming over Ilie Ilascu, Andrey Ivantsok and Tudor Petrov contradict the letter and spirit of the European Convention. She urges the countries of the region, interested in joining the Council of Europe, to observe their human rights commitments and to ensure the accused a fair trial in a lawful court and in keeping with the Constitution of Moldova.

Supreme Court Collegium Holds Meeting on Tiraspol Trial

AU1910140993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0905 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 19/10/1993—The Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Moldova held a sitting on the so-called trial of the "Ilascu group" in Tiraspol.

It was mentioned during debates that the leaders of the Republic of Moldova and several international bodies had voiced opinions that the trial was anticonstitutional. "I am sure that this is no political farce, but premeditated murder," said Collegium President Pavel Barbalat.

The Collegium showed indignation at the prosecutor's request that three defendants be sentenced to death. Most members of the collegium agreed that the participants in this political gambling played down the consequences.

Parliament Approves Election Procedure

LD1910223193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The 12th session of the Moldovan parliament, closing in Chisinau Tuesday, agreed on the mechanism for holding early parliamentary elections and amended the Constitution and the political party legislation. A ruling was also adopted on the way the electoral legislation would be introduced.

A 101 seat professional parliament will be set up in Moldova. A total of 2,800,000 electors will vote for party lists and independent candidates.

The election procedures may start from October 27.

By a special ruling, the residents of Transdniestria who have not confirmed their Moldovan citizenship prior to the election day are eligible for voting if they have a passport or other documents confirming their permanent residence in Moldova before June 23, 1990 (when a declaration of sovereignty was adopted—Interfax). The same ruling made an exception for political parties of Transdniester and Gagauz.

Parliament has adjourned until December. Observers do not rule out the possibility that it may not convene again before its terms expires on February 27, 1994 when early parliamentary elections are held.

Kazakhstan

President Nazarbayev Begins Visit to China

Topics for Talks

PM1910104393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 93 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Vladimir Skosyrev: "Nursultan Nazarbayev in Beijing: Difficult Talks on Awkward Questions"]

[Text] Beijing—The political part of Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev's talks with China's leaders promise to be complex. On at least one point the differences between the sides are obvious. Kazakhstan has closed the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site and urged the countries of the "nuclear club" to extend the moratorium on tests to 2005.

In terms of China the result of this appeal was zero. In October an explosion took place in an underground shaft at Lake Lop Nor approximately 900 km from the border with Kazakhstan.

Even beforehand representatives of antinuclear movements in Kazakhstan had stated that that test would pose an ecological danger to Central Asia. President Nazarbayev also expressed concern in this respect in a letter sent to Jiang Zemin. Nevertheless China ignored its neighbor's fears and, incidentally, appeals from President Clinton and the leaders of other powers.

Admittedly you can only guess how firmly the head of the young state will express his attitude to the nuclear policy of its powerful neighbor.

In cannot be ruled out that for its part China will also raise a question which its interlocutor will find uncomfortable. Kazakhstan is home to the "Eastern Turkestan" movement, whose declared objective is to create an independent republic on part of the territory of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of the PRC. It is assumed that the Kazakhstan delegation will explain the official position: that Almaty has nothing in common with the separatists and considers this movement illegal. It has not been registered with the Kazakhstan Ministry of Justice.

The negotiating partners will find it much easier to find a common language on the acute problem of Islamic fundamentalism. At previous meetings the states' representatives have already expressed their intention to resist illegal deliveries of arms across the border. Events in Tajikistan, and also the terrorist acts committed by underground Muslim groupings in Sinkiang last summer, show that extremists' activities could become a potential threat for both states. This is a possible basis for cooperation between them, although both Almaty and Beijing would rather not state this openly.

Yet another topic of the talks in Beijing is a border settlement between China and Kazakhstan. Together with Russia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, Kazakhstan has formed a single delegation for talks with China to determine the position of the border line. In parallel with this, representatives of the CIS states and China are discussing the possibility of reducing armed forces and establishing confidence-building measures along the border.

According to M. Auezov, Kazakhstan's ambassador to Beijing, China has become Kazakhstan's number two partner, after Russia, in the sphere of economic relations. Neither side is satisfied with the nature of these relations, however. The predominant forms of trading are border and "shuttle exchange."

One of the main tasks for the upcoming talks is to ensure a transition to civilized forms of trade and economic cooperation and adopt mutual commitments to protect investments.

Meets With Jiang Zemin

LD1910113493 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Excerpts] An extensive exchange of opinions concerning political, trade, and economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and China took place during the talks between President Nazarbayev, who is currently visiting Beijing, and PRC President Jiang Zemin. The sides noted positive results in the field of trade and economy after official diplomatic relations were established. [passage omitted]

A new impetus should be given to interaction in such priority fields as ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, agriculture, chemical industry, machine building, and transport.

A positive assessment in negotiations concerning border areas was voiced by the leaders of Kazakhstan and China [passage indistinct], and next year a relevant agreement will be signed. [passage ommitted]

Stresses 'Identity of Views'

LD1910135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1321 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing October 19 TASS—"China is actively backing Kazakhstan's initiative to set up a system of security and stability on the Asian continent," Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told Russian and Chinese journalists, covering his stay in China, here today.

"During the talks in Beijing," the president noted, "we have raised the problem of stopping Chinese nuclear tests at the Lobnor testing ground, and the Chinese side has reiterated its readiness to open negotiations on the banning of nuclear weapons."

Describing his talks with Chinese Chairman Jiang Zemin, Nazarbayev stressed their complete identity of views on all the question discussed. "Relations with

China, as our great neighbour, are of tremendous importance for us," Nazarbayev said, specially noting the expansion of Kazakh-Chinese trade. At the same time, he acknowledged the existence of certain problems in Kazakh-Chinese commercial and economic cooperation, linked, for instance, with the low quality of many Chinese goods.

Speaking about China's experience in economic reforms, Nazarbayev said: "The reforms in this country are proceeding in conditions of stability and without any chaos, as it happened at the initial stage in our country." He informed the Chinese side about Kazakhstan's plans to set up a special economic zone on the border between the two countries with the participation of Hong Kong capital.

Meets With Li Peng

LD1910170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Vyacheslav Tomilin]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Oct—The whole complex of bilateral relations was discussed at a meeting between PRC State Council Premier Li Peng and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, which took place here today.

Trade and economic relations between the two states formed the key topic of the discussions. The sides outlined the main areas for long-term cooperation, primarily in the sphere of power engineering, metallurgy, agriculture, and a number of other areas. Stress was laid on the insistent need to activate mutual efforts to surmount the transportation problems that were holding up the pace of the development of cooperation between China and Kazakhstan. The sides supported the stepping up of the participation of government bodies in expanding bilateral trade and economic exchange so as to give it a more stable character.

China, which needs a peaceful atmosphere in order to effect its reforms successfully, is seeking to develop friendship and good-neighborliness with Kazakhstan, the head of the Chinese Government declared.

The Kazakh president noted his country's desire to develop trade and economic relations not only with the contiguous Xinjiang-Uighur autonomous region in the PRC, but with other Chinese provinces as well so as to broaden the framework and scale of cooperation.

Nazarbayev confirmed the inviattion to Li Peng to pay an official visit to Kazakhstan. The Chinese premier's visit scheduled for May did not take place since he was ill. Tomorrow the leader of Kazakhstan leaves for the major Chinese megalopolis of Shanghai.

Signs Four Agreements

LD1910222393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Vladimir Kulikov] Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev is in Beijing on an official visit—his third, but his first as head of a sovereign state. Nazarbayev was invited by PRC President Jiang Zemin, with whom he had talks at the start of the official part of this visit. Both sides said that they were happy with their bilateral relations and with the prospects for developing them.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] I must tell you that over these two years the PRC has become Kazakhstan's number one partner in terms of economic cooperation. China accounts for 22.4 percent of our foreign trade turnover: 500 million dollars, which over two years is an enormous figure. Relations with China are very important to us as relations with a close neighbor. [end recording]

[Kulikov] Fifteen agreements on economic cooperation between the two neighbors were signed recently in the spheres of economics, trade, and cultural exchanges. Today four more have been added, relating to various aspects of cooperation in the economic, trade, air communication spheres, and consular affairs.

The joint declaration of the bases of friendly relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the PRC which was signed by both presidents deserves special mention. China confirmed its policy of not attacking non-nuclear states and areas and of not using nuclear force against them and welcomed Kazakhstan's readiness to join the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons as a non-nuclear state. [video shows Nazarbayev descending plane; the two presidents signing agreements; parade in Nazarbayev's honor]

Agreement With Russia on Baykonur Reportedly Reached

LD1910214793 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Almaty, [no dateline as received]—A constructive approach to solving the problems of Baykonur's military-construction complex has been found at last. According to the daily republican newspaper EKSPRESS in Almaty, the Cabinet of Ministers of Kazakhstan has prepared a draft statute that will give a go-ahead to the creation of the new Construction Directorate as a part of the military-aerospace forces of the Russian Federation's Defense Ministry.

This is a practical result of the successful talks on the revival of Baykonur between certain Kazakhstan departments and a delegation of Baykonur officers led by Boris (Kalinechev), the deputy commander of the military-aerospace forces of the Russian Federation. It is anticipated that the existing Construction Directorate will be transferred under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation's Defense Ministry, along with all the military detachments there that are under Kazakhstan's jurisdiction. The new Construction Directorate will lease all the movable and immovable property. Expendable materials will be purchased according to their real value.

Thus Kazakhstan will manage to preserve its own property in Baykonur. Russia will get an opportunity to start restoring Baykonur's technical, technological and intellectual potential, weakened by the years of uncertainty, for the sake of future implementation of its space programs. [passage omitted]

Government Begins Negotiations With Bashkortostan

LD1910215493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstanin Borodinov for TASS]

[Text] Almaty October 19 TASS—Negotiations began today between the government delegations of Kazakhstan and Bashkortostan, headed by Prime Ministers Sergey Tereshenko and Anatoliy Konsov. The discussions focused on the development of economic relations between the two republics. On the one hand, a successful exchange of goods is underway which has augmented trade. However, payments are not being completed on time, which provides a basis for mutual claims. The talks are proceeding in a spirit of cooperation, however, with the aim of resolving the existing problems.

Participants agreed that the unification of the monetary systems of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan would immediately resolve many questions. In this context, the two governments are taking necessary measures. Meanwhile financial experts call for direct settlements of accounts through special banks in Almaty and Ufa for cooperating enterprises.

On the same day, members of the Bashkortostan delegation visited most of Kazakhstan's key ministries and departments where serious and constructive negotiations continued. As an outcome of these talks, a series of agreements are expected to be signed.

Nazarbayev Sends Greetings to Entrepreneurs Meeting

LD1910165093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, has sent a greeting to participants in the International Forum of Entrepreneurs meeting in Almaty. The greeting contains a heartfelt welcome to the participants in the forum, as follows:

Society has always regarded entrepreneurs as a mighty power capable of doing much for the benefit and prosperity of the people. Major importance is being ascribed to the development of entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan. All branches of our state policy (?await) the active support of business circles. We are convinced that business can and must become the center of [words indistinct]. If the efforts of these structures and large-scale production with the world practice [words indistinct], then our (?economy) will receive a powerful impetus for the stabilization and development of its potential. The development of investment practices and your purposeful participation in the process should play a vital role. We hope that your expertise, knowledge, and [words indistinct] will help to reform the republic's economy and will make our joint work significant and fruitful. I wish you success and express my belief that the noble objectives and ideas of the forum will be implemented in reality and will help to form a businesslike and active class of entrepreneures.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev's Political Situation Reviewed

OW2010052993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 11 Oct 93

[V. Fedorov video report—from the "Utro" program]

[Text] Kyrgyz voters, having voted heavily in favor of the 46- year-old physicist, who had received his political education under the leadership of the famous Demrossii [Democratic Russia] leaders in the union's parliament, had supported the course towards the democratization of society and market reforms. And it is not the fault of the president-reformer that after three years, the citizens who believed him find themselves significantly further from prosperity than the inhabitants of the majority of the other newly independent states. [video shows polling booth activities, Akayev taking the oath, talking to a group of people]

The market has put Kyrgyzstan in place as decreed by Kyrgyzstan's real resource potential. In essence, it is only the democratic resource that keeps the republic afloat today. Western donors are still providing loans against the good name of Akayev the Democrat, although it is quite obvious that the republic not only has no chance on the world market, but that they also have very few on the adjacent ones. [video cuts to show Fedorov interviewing Akayev]

[Begin Akayev recording] Without the close, friendly ties and cooperation with Russia, it will be difficult for us achieve success in our democratic transformation and economic reforms. Not only difficult but I would say, impossible. We all stand in need of the great Russia, the rebirth of the great Russia, however, on a new and democratic basis, of course. Without the great Russia there will be no harmony in our world, there will be no stability on the huge Eurasian continent, and there will be no stability in the whole of the world. I sincerely hope for the rebirth of the great Russia. [end recording] [video shows open-cut mining operations, workers at personal computers, a closeup of a copy of the VECHERNYY BISHKEK [EVENING BISHKEK] newspaper, Akayev folk dancing, a Kyrgyz festival, Akayev and officials on a rostrum, a cabinet meeting]

Inside Kyrgyzstan, the topical issue is: how quickly will the resource of democracy take hold? On the one hand, it is being actively consumed by nationalism, which has permeated into the leadership structures; and, on the other hand, regionalism, clan confrontation. And, of course, the economic crisis which compels various forms of extremism. So, following the extraordinary budget, a massive attack began on freedom of speech and glasnost, that is, the only gains of democracy so far. Forced to balance between the mine fields of opposing camps, Askar Akayev has already announced his readiness, in principle, to go to early elections of the parliament and the president, which incidentally conforms to the letter of the new constitution. What are the prospects here? After the events in Moscow, the local specter of communism has somewhat melted. It is obvious that the money aces will play an ever- increasing role, the Kyrgyz-style Ilyumzhinovs. Recently, the present ruling nomenklatura joined with the Social Democratic Party; however, will it be successful in sewing up the clan splinters? A recent public opinion poll shows that Askar Akayev has the highest rating, although in the past three years he has dropped from 4.1 to 2.8 on the five-point scale. Under these conditions, it is doubtful the idea of early elections will be entertained. In any case, the president has proposed to all his opponents, taking the Moscow lesson into account, to announce a temporary moratorium on political struggle.

Akayev Urges World Bank Official To Consider Aid

LD1810202293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 18 Oct 93

[By reporters Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev told Wilfred Thalwitz, World Bank Vice President, that it was very important for the republic to receive the financial aid, promised to keep the economic reforms running, in time. Thus far as little as $80 Mn [million] out of the $400 Mn expected before the middle of 1994 has arrived.

Akayev added that since it has introduced a national currency, Kyrgyzstan found itself somewhat isolated in the CIS and was experiencing great difficulties in making payments. In his words, the republic was intent on going ahead with structural changes and asked the World Bank official to speed up the creation of a fund of privatized businesses and an agency overseeing structural changes in industry.

Kyrgyzstan, Akayev said, is prepared to grant full economic freedom to privatized businesses but these must also be aided in technological modernization and in market research.

The president emphasized that the country did not have finances for the upkeep of loss making factories and that their further existence was in doubt. A bankruptcy bill will be discussed by the next session of the Kyrgyz parliament.

Thalwitz assured the president that the World Bank was prepared to do its best to mobilize the aid by donating countries in 1994. It will also submit two plans to overhaul loss making factories and the financial sector.

Tajikistan

Official Briefs Press on Afghan Border Situation

LD1910221493 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 19 Oct 93

[News conference by Zafar Saydov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Department, with unidentified domestic and foreign correspondents at the Foreign Ministry building on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] [Saydov] Preparations for implementing the next series of armed provocations have been taking place lately on different directions along the Tajik-Afghan border. According to available reliable data, three armed groups of the Tajik extremists, numbering from 150 to 200 each, have been concentrated in a number of regions bordering Tajikistan in the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

According to reliable sources, the above-mentioned armed groups consist of the activists of the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan, who have special military training. Similarly, as before they are aiming to infiltrate the territory of Tajikistan in a number of sections of the border and to attack on the posts of the Russian and Tajik border guards.

As became known, the Afghan mojahedin, who are not subordinate to official Kabul, want to take part in violation the border together with them as well. I mean the armed groups of the Afghan mojahedin, who are led by the Afghan field commanders Oyanda Muhammad, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan; Mualim Rajab, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan; the field commanders from the armed groups of Abdurasul Sayam; the Islamic Union of the Society of Afghanistan.

All this is evidence of activization lately, especially when it has become known that Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani is preparing to visit Tajikistan, of certain destructive political forces, who are interested in the failure of accords between the heads of states of Tajikistan and Afghanistan on regulating the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and improvement of intergovernment relations, which were achieved this August in Kabul.

In accordance with this we express the hope that the officials of the bordering provinces of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, who are responsible for the border protection [words indistinct] will take all possible and urgent measures not to allow such actions, which of course do not promote stabilization of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

The leadership of Tajikistan several times has demonstrated that it prefers to tackle the serious problems by means of peaceful political methods. Taking the opportunity, we again take into account humanism to appeal to the common sense and wisdom of all our compatriots, who are violating the border from the territory of Afghanistan and became unintentionally guilty of the peoples deaths and senseless bloodshed.

We know that many of them are involved in this by means of threats, blackmail, and misinformation of [word indistinct]. But at the same time they have a chance to return home as civilian refugees and to start creative life for the sake of development and flourishing of their native Tajikistan. As it known there are tens of thousands of such civilian refugees. So far 24,000 citizens of Tajikistan have returned to Tajikistan only through the official checkpoints of repatriation, who for different reasons as a result of the civil war have found themselves on the territory of neighboring Afghanistan. (?But there are also) thousands upon thousands of other refugees, who were in Afghanistan, who have returned home without registration and have already started peaceful creative life.

The republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a number of legislative acts on amnesty of different groups of citizens, who were involved (?somehow in the armed conflicts) and has established the legal and material guarantees for the return of the refugees. Similarly, this problem is at the center of attention of the activities of a number of international organizations and the appropriate structures of the United Nations. We would like to point out again that the people and the leadership of Tajikistan do not want a reiteration of the events on the border, which have resulted in numerous and senseless casualties during several months and which damaged the process of peaceful negotiations between the fighting sides.

But at the same time, there should be no doubt that if the armed provocations will be repeated the Tajik government forces will act decisively and will take effective measures to protect itself and to stop hostility actions on the border. Similarly, there should be no doubt that all planned armed provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border will completely fail as they have failed so far. The border infiltrators had no and will have no chances to strengthen their positions or to infiltrate deep into the territory of our country.

The Armed Forces of Tajikistan will use all forces and means to resist any attempts to infiltrate into the territory of the republic and all the efforts of certain forces to wreck the process of positive changes towards the two states cannot hamper preparations of the official visit of Rabbani.

[Dushanbe Radio Reporter] Is it possible to tackle this issue by peaceful means?

[Saydov] The leadership of Tajikistan has proved several times that it prefers to tackle known problems pertaining to the situation in Tajikistan by peaceful and political means. I would like to repeat the words of Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, that the leadership of Tajikistan is not only ready but has already started the realization of certain efforts on development of the process of peaceful negotiations with all the (?parts) of the opposition.

Armed Opposition Units Concentrate on Afghan Border

LD1910115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1015 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe October 19 TASS—The Tajik opposition whose armed units got entrenched in a number of Afghanistan's border provinces continues waging armed struggle against the lawful Government of Tajikistan and stages armed provocations against Russian frontier guards. This is shown by a dangerous concentration in Afghnistan's border provinces of several armed groups with a numerical strength of from 150 to 200 men in each. Armed groups plan to break through the border around October 20, ITAR-TASS learned from the military sources. According to these sources, militants from the Tajik opposition are backed by units of Afghan mojaheeds that are not subjugated to Kabul.

The Tajikistan Foreign Ministry also expressed concern over the continued armed provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border. Zafar Saidov, chief of the information department of the Tajik Foreign Ministry, told a briefing on Tuesday that actions of the Tajik opposition and separate destructive forces in Afghanistan are aimed at frustraiting the august arrangements reached during the visit to Afghanistan by speaker of the Tajikistan parliament Emamali Rakhmanov and also at preventing the planned meeting of heads of state of Tajikistan and Afghanistan in Dushanbe in early November.

Council of Ministers Presidium Discusses Harvest

LD1810194793 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] A regular meeting of government members took place today in the Tajikistan Republic Council of Ministers. The meeting mainly discussed the harvest of cotton, grain-crops, melons and watermelons, as well as preparations for the next winter. It was pointed out that all the efforts should be concentrated to harvest the output of the peasants. So far, a considerable part of fuel and lubricants, which has come into the republic has been sent to the collective and state farms. During the harvest period, fuel, lubricants, and spare parts worth more than 5 billion rubles will be sent to the collective and state farms of the republic.

Authorities Suppress Moscow News; New Radio Set Up

MK1910141193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Oleg Panfilov report: "Events in Moscow Are Not Discussed in Dushanbe, but Russian Democrats Are Likened to 'Islamists'"]

[Text] Tajikistan inhabitants have been finding out about the developments in Moscow from the programs of Ostankino television and of the Russian Television and Radio Company. Newspapers from Moscow have not reached the republic for a long time, while Tajikistan's leaders carefully conceal their own opinion of the events in Russia. Neither the republic's radio nor television are trying to define where they stand on the 3-4 October events. The only information was a short communication of the state news agency KHOVAR conveying in very cautious terms the contents of Emomaly Rakhmonov's telegram to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Incidentally, it does not contain any political assessment of events in Russia, something that is totally justified in diplomatic correspondence. Emomali Rakhmonov, however, was obliged to qualify Yeltsin's decision to disband the Supreme Soviet as actions that "will lead to the establishment of constitutionality, peace, order, and legality." As early as one year ago, Rakhmonov regarded as no less than a coup the Tajik opposition's claims to its own parliament. A day before the storming of the White House in Moscow, however, the weekly TAJIKISTON OVOZI in the Uzbek language compared in its editorial the actions of Russian democrats with the "outrages of Demo-Islamists," having thereby confirmed once again the ideological commonality of the Tajik leadership and the Russian opposition. There have appeared in a bourgeois Moscow, the newspaper claims, healthy forces that have come to the White House. The weekly paid much attention to Aleksandr Rutskoy's actions, hoping that "the acting president of Russia" would restore justice. The other newspapers, however, like the radio and television, kept silent for two weeks after the event.

People outside Tajikistan are trying to fill the information vacuum: For a second week now a new radio station "Free Tajikistan" has been broadcasting in the 41-meter short-wave band. Its 30- minute programs go on the air twice a day at 0900 and 1200, with its 1400 broadcast lasting 45 minutes. It is known that working for the new radio station, which is in all likelihood either near Tajikistan's border or in the mountainous regions of the republic, are seven people most of whom are former staffers of the republic's radio. It is supposed that the radio station will also produce programs in Russian and Uzbek. Information gathering is being done by the specially created news agency KHORASAN, which runs a network of correspondents inside Tajikistan and in the refugee camps. The authorities' reaction inside the republic was very prompt: The seizing of short-wave radios ordered by the chairman of the Garm Rayon Executive Committee began with 43 sets being confiscated in the first days of the operation. At the same time, the jamming of Radio Liberty programs continues.

Official Goes to Uzbekistan for Meeting on Refugees

LD1510154593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Tojiddin Mardonov, deputy minister of foreign affairs has left for Termez [town in southern Uzbekistan] (?to meet with the Uzbek) and Afghan sides to discuss the possibilities for repatriation of Tajik refugees from Afghanistan through this Uzbek town again. A KHOVAR News Agency correspondent learned this from the Foreign Ministry's Information Department. [passage omitted]

Uzbekistan

Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani Continues Visit

LD1910141793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The official visit to Uzbekistan by President Hashemi-Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic of Iran is continuing. Our correspondent Maya Ganiyeva reports by telephone from Tashkent:

[Ganiyeva] Early this morning President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran and his delegation left for Bukhara and Samarkand by plane. The leader of the Islamic country said that he cannot but bow to the remains of the most important theologians of the Middle Ages which are buried in these very ancient world cities. And so, according to the guests' schedule, there will be prayer services at the mausoleum of Bahauddin Nakshbend in Bukhara and the mausoleum of Imam al-Bukhari outside Samarkand.

The visitors will also get to know the life of the republic which has abandoned the secular path of development.

Extended summit talks were held yesterday in Tashkent in the Palace of the Friendship of Peoples and the sides signed several economic agreements: on setting up a joint commission for cooperation, on the development of transportation links, trade, and the transit of freight traffic through Iran. Proposals on the joint recovery of oil, gas, and other issues were examined.

At a news conference at the end, I think the main thing was the announcement by President Karimov on the explosive conflict on the Tajik-Afghan border. Islam Karimov proposed a plan containing five conditions which could stabilize the situation in this region. In particular, no state may interfere in the internal affairs of this country. The Tajik people should decide their own fate.

Islam Karimov said that the border conflict needs to be solved at the negotiating table with the participation of all states which neighbor Tajikistan, including Iran.

Iranian leader Rafsanjani supported this plan for solving the conflict.

Iranian President's Visit to Central Asian Viewed

NC2010093193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1600 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has left to visit Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan. According to the Iranian Ambassador in Tashkent Musa Hashemi Golpayegani, the objective of this visit is to strengthen the economic, cultural, and political relations between Iran and the regional countries.

Tehran appears to have decided not to strive to spread its thinking in the Central Asian region, but to forge reciprocally beneficial economic cooperation. This is not merely because it can yield special results quickly. The Central Asian governments that Hashemi-Rafsanjani will visit are very cautious about efforts to import any ideological influence or thinking from abroad.

We will not discuss Tajikistan, as the Iranian leader will not visit it. Incidentally, Turkey's relative success in forging extremely close relations with Central Asia can largely be explained in this context. From the outset, Ankara set great store by specific commercial and economic programs instead of relying on common linguistic, moral, or cultural denominators. This elicited the interest of the Central Asian leaders. Thus, the concept of the Turkish echelons' hoping for a unified pan-Turkish bloc led by Turkey seems baseless.

More specifically, what topics may be discussed during the visit? In an interview on the eve of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit, the Iranian Ambassador to Uzbekistan Hashemi-Golpayegani complained of the low level of cooperation between Iran and Uzbekistan, especially concerning the future outlook for joint ties. According to him, in two years, a railroad could be constructed to link the region with the Persian Gulf shores through Turkmenistan.

Similarly, in the Central Asian capitals, some projects to build oil and gas pipelines may be discussed and studied. Further, it is expected that agreements on the free transit of goods through Iranian territory and related issues such as customs tariffs and other commercial issues will be signed.

Thus, as we can see, relations between Iran and Central Asian countries are now forging a civilized course and the two sides are not seeking to influence one another with their own leanings, but are now acting on the principle of reciprocal benefits for the welfare of their respective nations.

Armenia

President's Press Secretary on Meeting in Moscow

NC1910191793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1436 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, October 19 (SNARK)—"Yesterday's meeting of Armenian and Russian delegations in Moscow was of great importance and helped to clear up the positions of both sides", Aram Abrahamyan, the Armenian president press-secretary, said today in his interview to SNARK. The Armenian official persons reject to give any details about the meeting's results, where questions on the monetary circulation's settlement in Armenia were discussed.

Ter-Petrosyan Meets Turkish Ambassador in Moscow

TA1810191593 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, currently in Moscow, met with Turkish Ambassador to Moscow Ayhan Kamel. It was learned that during the meeting Ter-Petrosyan expressed the wish to normalize relations with Turkey and receive humanitarian aid from Turkey. Kamel, in turn, told Ter-Petrosyan that the Turkish public is greatly disturbed by Armenian attacks against Azerbaijan. Kamel noted that if the relations between Armenia and Turkey are to be normalized, a peace process must first be started with regard to Armenian-Azerbaijani relations.

Deputy Foreign Minister Says Azerbaijan Inflexible

LD1910231593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's refusal to support the "urgent measures schedule" developed within the CSCE Minsk group testifies to absence of flexibility in Baku's position, Armenia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparitian declared in an interview with Interfax on Tuesday.

In his opinion, the issue of Azerbaijan's concern over positive result in peacemaking efforts of the Minsk group arises.

According to Liparitian, "the Minsk group and world community as a whole should render pressure on Baku to force Azerbaijan to adopt any schedule to settle the conflict in order to put an end to the war as soon as possible."

Liparitian holds "certain hopes" for consultations of the CSCE Minsk group started on Tuesday in Rome. "Azerbaijan's position will probably become more flexible and clear as a result of these consultations," he said.

The deputy head of the Armenian Foreign Ministry considers the efforts of the Minsk group "useful." At the same time he pointed out that "it took too much time for the peacemakers from the CSCE to understand the impossibility of a rapid advance in the settlement process without recognizing Nagorno-Karabakh as an equal party in the conflict."

Speaking on Russia's participation in the peaceful process, Liparityan indicated "large diplomatic activity" of Moscow primarily in the cease-fire process. "Russia knows the region's problems better than anybody else and this gives it a special role to settle the conflict."

Azerbaijani Cease-Fire Violations in Karabakh Reported

NC1910161493 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1156 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani side is continuing to violate the cease-fire agreement from time to time. The defensive positions of the Karabakh Army came under fire in some sectors of the conflict zone yesterday evening and on the previous day. Five Karabakh fighters were injured as a result of these operations.

Further on Violations

LD1910133193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1245 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Loris Gukasyan]

[Text] Yerevan October 19 TASS—Azeri army continues to violate the temporary ceasefire agreement, the Nagorno-Karabakh information and press department told ARMENPRESS agency.

On October 18, some positions of the Nagorno-Karabakh army were fired at from mortars. The Karabakh self-defence forces did not fire back.

The term of the temporary ceasefire expires on November 5 this year.

Cease-Fire Violation at Nakhichevan Border Reported

NC1910162593 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1429 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Another cease-fire violation has been reported on Armenia's border. The armed formations in Nakhichevan used large-caliber machine guns to periodically fire on the defensive positions around the village of Dzhanakhdzhi in Araratskiy Rayon between 0930 and 1300. Our fighters did not retaliate. There are no casualties.

No incidents have been registered in the rest of the Armenian border regions since last night.

Azerbaijan

Government Wants 'Unconditional' 6-Month Cease-Fire

LD1910175993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1123 GMT 19 Oct 93

[BY AZERTAC for TASS]

[Text] Baku October 19 TASS—Azerbaijan urged the CSCE Minsk group of countries for Nagorno-Karabakh to "take efficient measures to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict" and said it is ready to agree on an unconditional six-month long ceasefire.

Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Gasan Gasanov sent a message to Mario Rafaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk group of countries, in connection with the adoption by the UN Security Council of the Resolution 874 on Nagorno-Karabakh.

He stressed that Azerbaijan is ready to work for an effective and permanent ceasefire for a period of six months and without any preliminary conditions.

Gasanov stressed that resolutions of the UN Security Council confirm the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers of Azerbaijan.

Manats Brought From France To Eliminate Cash Shortage

NC1910190993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] A new batch of national banknotes, manats, printed in France has been brought into Azerbaijan.

An AZERTAC correspondent was told at the Republic's National Bank that the banknotes are sufficient to pay the debts that could not be paid before because of the acute cash shortage in the payments to the citizens, and institutions and organizations involved in [words indistinct] health care and pensions.

The banknotes are being distributed to all the banks in Baku and to most of the banks in the rayons today.

Further on Banknotes

LD1910221193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2117 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Azerbaijan has received a new batch of the national bank note, the manat, printed in France. The new money will cover a wage debt that has reached 5 billion manats, about 50 billion rubles, owing to the acute shortage of ready cash in the republic.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Asks Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan for Help

LD1910234593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] In early hours of Tuesday Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian leader, appealed to Russia, Armenia and Azerbaijan for help in the face of the developments in Georgia and the activities mounted by the loyalists of the deposed president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The Russian president's special envoy Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov told Interfax in early hours of Tuesday that this appeal "would be heeded." He said that the Russian top officials would respond very shortly.

Regarding whether Moscow thought of helping Shevardnadze militarily, Pastukhov said: "We should wait a little." The deputy minister agreed that the Georgian developments were a cause of concern for Russia.

Pastukhov preferred not to go into detail about what was discussed in his presence by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and his Georgian counterpart Otar Patsatsiya. He made it clear, however, that food, in particular bread supplies to Georgia, were a major issue in the discussion.

IF Note: Georgy Gakhoniya, the president of the Constitutional Right and Civil Liberty Protection Association with its headquarters in Moscow, called on the Russian leaders not to authorize the intervention of Russian troops in the Georgian conflict. The appeal was addressed to Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, Kozyrev, Grachev, Filatov and Kazannik.

Shevardnadze told a meeting in Tbilisi that at this critical juncture the Georgian state had no alternative to joining the CIS. He emphasized that the country had tried every other way possible to surmount the crisis. "We have appealed to nearly everybody on the planet and received much. But for quite understandable reasons we did not receive the main thing, guarantees of the country's independence and sovereignty," he said.

In Shevardnadze's words, Georgian membership in the CIS was essential to improve relations with Russia. "If there is no peace in Abkhazia, there will be no peace in Georgia. We will not have Abkhazia back before we have good relations with Russia," said the Georgian leader to stormy applause of a crowd of over 5000 in the Grand Conservatory Hall.

The meeting expressed full support of Shevardnadze's policy vis-a-vis the CIS and of democratic change in the country.

In an interview broadcast by the national television Tuesday, Defense Minister Georgy Karkarashvili said that the setbacks suffered by the Georgian armed forces, in particular the fall of the western towns of Samtredia and Khoni to forces loyal to the deposed president Zviad Gamsakhurdia, were attributable to lack of coordination between the territorial troops, Mkhedrioni volunteer units, the national guard, etc., which did not have a joint command.

He said that he had overruled Eduard Shevardnadze's order on restoration of the national guard and subordinated all armed units in the country to his ministry. "I think that this decision is consistent with Georgia's interests, for it should have a united army," the minister emphasized. In Karkarashvili's words, a united army is the sole guarantor of preserving the statehood.

"If we succeed in uniting all units in Georgian under joint command, in incorporating them into the Defense Ministry's structure, we will be able to win on all fronts. If we do not, we will keep losing towns," Karkarashvili said.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: No positional changes occurred yesterday in the conflict between government troops and Gamsakhurdia supporters and there was no fighting, officials in the press center of government troops stationed in western Georgia told Interfax. Jaba Ioseliani, who chairs the ad hoc emergency situation committee, told journalists in Kutaisi Tuesday that government troops were being reinforced with personnel and new military hardware. "Everything proceeds as planned," he emphasized.

Shevardnadze Decrees Cabinet of Ministers Changes

LD1910211293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] We are presenting several decrees by the head of the Georgian state.

Irina Sarishvili is dismissed from her duties as Georgian deputy prime minister at her personal request.
[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze, 19 October 1993. Tbilisi.

Irakli Menagharishvili [minister of health care] is appointed Georgian deputy prime minister.
[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze, 19 October 1993. Tbilisi.

Avtandil Jorbenadze is appointed minister of health care of Georgia.
[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze, 19 October 1993. Tbilisi.

Gamsakhurdia Forces Continue Offensive in West

Lanchkuti Falls

LD1910164993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today armed supporters of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia took another rayon center in western Georgia without any fighting, the town of Lanchkuti.

We learned from a telephone conversation with deputy commander of the Guri-Imera regiment, Major Avtandil Khektebidze, that supporters of the former president held a meeting at which Zviad Gamsakhurdia spoke. He called on people not to put up any opposition and promised that all opponents would be pardoned if they gave up their arms voluntarily. A new military commander and a head of militia have already been appointed in the town.

Most of the forces of the former president are concentrated in the populated center Ianeti, 50 km from Kutaisi, the second biggest town in Georgia. The strategic airport Kopitnari remains under the control of government forces of the republic of Georgia. [video shows tanks and mass meeting addressed by Gamsakhurdia]

Further on Fall of Lanchkhuti

LD1910162893 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1520 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Ozurgeti, 19 [dateline as received]—Relying on information broadcast by independent TV of Ajaria, IBERIA independent news agency reports that Yuriy Moisstrapishvili, the commander of the [words indistinct] Poti "Mkhedrioni" regiment of the Georgian Defense Ministry stationed in Ozurgeti, said that Ozurgeti [words indistinct] positions near the village of Tskaltsminda.

Yuriy Moisstrapishvili confirmed the fact that Vakhtang Kobalia's units' entered Lanchkhuti [town on the Batumi-Tbilisi railway line]. This happened today, at about 1100. Armed units loyal to Gamsakhurdia entered Lanchkhuti from the direction of Japana. Only minor [armed] clashes occurred. There was no opposition from the population.

Fighting Reported Near Kutaisi

LD2010090993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Major Soso Margishvili, the head of the Georgian Defense Ministry press center, told the CONTACT news agency from Kutaisi this morning that there had been no significant changes in the opposing side's positions during the night of 20 October.

A clash between government troops and illegal units supporting the former president has taken place near the village of Maghlaki [about 12 km west of Kutaisi]. The opposite side lost several fighters and one was taken prisoner.

There was no major fighting this morning. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Denies Fall of Ozurgeti, Chokhatauri

LD2010105193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] It has emerged that reports that the ex-president's supporters have taken control of Ozurgeti and Chokhatauri rayons are not true. Our correspondent spoke by telephone this morning with leaders of these rayons who said that the armed supporters of the ex-president had not entered there.

Defense Minister in Kutaisi

LD2010105793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] There were armed clashes last night between Georgian Government forces and Zviadist formations near the town of Khoni, captured by Zviadists on 17 October. The exchange of fire left dead and wounded. This was stated to INTERFAX in the press center of government troops stationed in western Georgia. The press center reported that government troops had lost three people; Zviadists' losses are unknown.

Yesterday, Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili arrived in Kutaisi. Additional formations have been moved up there from Tbilisi and eastern Georgia.

Tskhaltubo Falls

AU2010105493 Paris AFP in English 1044 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] Kutaisi, Georgia, Oct 20 (AFP)—Forces loyal to ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia occupied Wednesday the small town of Tskhaltubo, only 10 kilometres (six miles) from the vital centre of Kutaisi, the government Military Command said.

Gamsakhurdia's troops were making a two-pronged advance on Kutaisi, which lies astride the main road to the capital Tbilisi from the west of the country.

Tskhaltubo lies due north of Kutaisi, which President Eduard Shevardnadze has vowed to defend at all costs. Gamsakhurdia's forces are also advancing along a more southerly road, but have been held at the village of Ianeti for the past two days.

Kitovani Blames Fall of Towns on 'Negligence'

LD1910175793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] [Former Defense Minister] Tengiz Kitovani was interviewed on Georgian television yesterday.

He said that the development of a buffer zone between Abkhazia and the rest of Georgia significantly reduces the chances of winning back Abkhazia. He called it a disgrace. He also said that if the Mingrelia region had taken part in the fight against the Abkhazians, the war would have been won.

As for the fall of Samtredia and Khoni, Kitovani said that it is a result of the negligence on the part of some military commanders. That is why it was necessary to introduce an appropriate mechanism for punishing such people. Everybody must understand that we are defending Tbilisi and Georgia, Kitovani said.

Commanders' 'Rivalry' Undermines Defense of Kutaisi

AU2010073093 Paris AFP in English 0200 GMT 20 Oct 93

[By Isabelle Astigarraga]

[Text] Kutaisi, Georgia, Oct 20 (AFP)—An impassioned pledge by Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze to defend Kutaisi from approaching rebels could be undermined by rivalry over who commands government troops in the western city.

With rebel forces under ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia just 15 kilometres (10 miles) from the city, a militia chief is resisting Shevardnadze's appointment of Defence Minister Georgi Karkarachvili as commander.

Djaba Iosseliani, head of a militia known as Mkhedrioni or "Horsemen of Georgia," said in an interview that while the defence minister was in charge of military operations, under the state of emergency he had overall responsibility for the situation—which placed Karkarachvili under his command.

At Karkarachvili's request, Shevardnadze reaffirmed Tuesday that the defence minister was in command of all government troops, the Presidential Press Office said.

But there was no sign of the conflict having been patched up when the defence minister arrived here to take control of efforts to stop Gamsakhurdia's forces advancing closer to the capital Tbilisi.

Officials refused to say where Karkarachvili was based but he had yet to show up at the town hall where Iosseliani has his command post.

The rivalry reflects deep divisions in the Georgian Government forces, who in past weeks have lost the key port of Poti and two main towns on the road east to Tbilissi, Samtredia and Khoni.

The 1st corps of the Georgian Army has around 2,000-3,000 men in Kutaisi, which straddles the supply road from the Black Sea to Tblissi, while the Horsemen have about 2,000 paramilitary troops, who are officially civilian.

Gamsakhurdia has about 2,000 poised outside the town who are, according to Iosseliani, "better equipped than us but fewer in number."

Fighting broke out overnight Monday with artillery exchanges between government and rebel forces outside the city but Tuesday was calm as reinforcements were rushed to the town.

Gamsakhurdia's forces "have always attacked at night or dawn," Colonel Georgi Arveladze of the Horsemen said, saying they had not ruled out an attack early Wednesday.

"Our force is set up for attack, not defence. If Gamsakhurdia's forces attack, that would be bad," the young officer said.

"It's up to us to launch an offensive and retake Samtredia and we should do it quickly, taking the initiative even without waiting for more equipment from Tbilisi," he said.

Residents of the town, the second largest in Georgia with a population of 300,000, were keeping a watchful eye on troops milling outside the town hall, in front of which a a tank and artillery piece were parked.

But few seemed too concerned about the town being taken over by Gamsakhurdia's forces.

"If they bombard the city, the it will be dangerous but afterwards, they might kill the mayor and Iosseliani if they find them but I don't believe they'll kill civilians," one resident said.

Gamsakhurdia's forces have struck at a low point in Shevardnadze's presidency, just after Abkhazian rebels in the west of the country took control of the regional capital of Sukhumi, forcing the Georgian president to beat a humiliating retreat.

The Horsemen, mostly veterans of the conflict against the Abkhazians, seem clear why they are fighting but it is not for Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister who took over after Gamsakhurdia's ouster in January 1992.

"Abkhazia was a war against Russia, and this is the same," said one of the Horsemen named Murad, 26.

Another, David, 24, said: "I'm not fighting for Shevardnadze, but for Georgia against Russia, which is using all means to try to weaken us because it wants to take back Georgia."

Georgian officials have repeatedly accused Russia of backing the Abkhazians but have appealed for Russian military help, which was rebuffed Monday, although Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev indicated a day later that aid was being considered.

Abkhaz Forces Clear Tsebelda of Armed Opponents

LD1910134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Units of the Abkhazian armed forces cleared the village of Tsebelda of Georgian armed groups, a spokesman for the Abkhazian parliament told ITAR-TASS. By placing outposts in the upper reaches of the Kodor river, they blocked part of Georgian troops in the Kodor ravine.

According to the same source, the Abkhazian-Georgian border is being fortified along the Inguri river.

Karkarashvili Cancels Shevardnadze National Guard Order

LD1910131293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister Georgy Karkarashvili stated that he had cancelled Commander-in-Chief Eduard Shevardnazde's order to restore the national guard, and issued an order to place all armed formations under the Georgian Defense Ministry. "I do not believe this decision goes against Georgia's interests or its plans to have an undivided army," he told Georgian television on Tuesday.

An undivided army is the only guarantee of state integrity, said Karkarashvili. He also said that the Georgian armed forces' setbacks, including the seizure of Samtredia and Khoni by the Zviadists, resulted from the fact that the home guard, the voluntary units, the Mkhedrioni, the national guard, and other units were not united.

"If we manage to place all forces under the Defense Ministry and the same command, we will gain victories on all fronts," said Karkarashvili. "If we fail to do so, we will surrender one city after another," he added.

Speaking about the national guard, the minister said that Shevardnadze had been misinformed about the state of affairs in the army, and therefore decided to create the national guard as an independent unit. Karkarashvili believes that "there were no objective reasons for creating the national guard."

Tbilisi To Purge 'Unworthy' Interior Ministry Officers

LD1910144693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Excerpts] This information has come from the press center of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In view of the aggravated sociopolitical and crime situation in the republic, the interior minister has issued an order placing all personnel on combat readiness. The order introduces round-the-clock duty at all units. Additional measures envisaged by the state of emergency are being implemented. To reinforce discipline and good organization and purge the Interior Ministry structures of unworthy officers, all personnel in the entire structure will face a fresh attestation [atestatsia] procedure. [passage omitted]

A number of personnel changes have taken place in the Interior Ministry. Police Colonel Guram Jikurauli was relieved of his duties as head of the economic crime directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Gamsakhurdia's Side Reports Russian POWs

LD1910164893 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1520 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Samtredia, 19th [dateline as received]—IBERIA news agency has been informed by the Ajarian independent television, that according to Amiran Bebia, the deputy commander of the Senaki battalion stationed in Samtredia, it is quiet in Samtredia and Khoni at the moment. However, yesterday, government troops shelled the town of Samtredia from Grad launchers. Four houses were damaged. There are casualties among civilians.

According to Amiran Bebia, some government troops have been taken prisoners. Among those [captured] are 30 servicemen of a Russian military unit, and 60 fighters from the Samtredia regional unit of the Georgian Rescue Corps "Mkhedrioni."

Amiran Bebia denied information made public by mass media alleging that their units included militants from the Confederation [of the Mountain Peoples of North Caucasus]. As for the expulsion of the Samtredia police chief, Zurab Nikoleishvili, neither was this fact confirmed. It was said that Zurab Nikoleishvili had left Samtredia together with government troops.

[Sentence indistinct]. Government troops are still reinforcing Kopitnari military airport.

Amiran Bebia said that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's armed units entered Lanchkhuti today. There were small clashes between government troops and Vakhtang Kobalia's units.

Majority of Parliament Supports Decision To Join CIS

LD1910230893 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] According to CONTACT news agency, the majority of Georgian deputies—117 deputies agree to Georgia joining CIS. This is said in a report which, along with a statement by the deputies, was made public by the press service of the Georgian parliament today.

We members of the Georgian parliament back up the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze's decision on the Republic of Georgia's joining CIS, the statement says. As we have already said, the statement has already been signed by 117 deputies. The process of signing the statement continues.

Estonia

Meri Receives Message From Yeltsin; Summit Possible

LD1910193393 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri received today Aleksandr Trofimov, the Russian ambassador to Estonia, who handed over a message for Lennart Meri from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, of 15 October. This was in response to President's Meri's prior message.

According to the press service of the [Estonian] presidential office, the Russian president would like to achieve a return to normalization in Estonian-Russian relations. Boris Yeltsin hopes in his message that the round-table [process that is underway in Estonia] will turn into an effective and regular means for a continued dialogue between the Estonian republican leadership and the ethnic Russians.

President Yeltsin states that the Russian troops will be withdrawn from Estonia according to plan. Russia, too, is interested in this.

The message talks about the possibility of organizing a meeting between the two countries' presidents. Substantial preparation must precede the talks, though.

Prime Minister Laar Meets EC Officials in Belgium

WS2010101993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2020 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Tallinn, October 19—Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar, on a three-day visit to Belgium, met Henning Christophersen, deputy chairman of the European Commission, on Tuesday, and signed a second loan agreement between Estonia and the EC, concerning 40 million ECU, which is forwarded to Estonian commercial banks to enable them to give low-percentage loans to local entrepreneurs, Laar told ETA.

Laar, who is scheduled to meet the chairman of the Commission Jacques Delors Tuesday night, said that free trade agreement between Estonia and the EC was also discussed. According to Laar the EC considers Estonia more ready to sign the agreement than could be expected, because of its apparent success in restructuring economy. Christophersen entirely backed the idea of signing the free trade agreement with Estonia speedily, Laar said.

Minister Criticizes Voter Turnout in Election

WS1910124993 Tallinn BNS in English 1858 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 18, BNS—The elections showed that the "Estonian people are not ready for independence", Interior Minister Lagle Parek said in her comments today, referring on the low turnout at Sunday's [17 October] local elections, which in several places led to unexpected success of the Russian-speakers' organizations.

"The residents of Estonia should learn from these elections, in order to be able to better stand for their interests also at the local governments level," the minister said.

Parek said the success of the so-called Russian lists was due to the fact that "Russians are struggling for their rights in Estonia, while Estonians think that their rights are already well enough guaranteed".

The minister said that the election results show the intention of at least a big part of Estonia's Russian-speakers to actively participate in the political and social life of the country.

Parek said emergence of conflicts between the country's two main ethnic communities was unlikely.

"Recent events in Russia showed that our Russians can hold in esteem the relative peace we now have in our little country," she said. She added that no serious incidents were recorded in connection with Sunday's voting.

'Mismanagement' May Cause Voiding of Town's Elections

WS1910125393 Tallinn BNS in English 1738 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 18, BNS—The results of Sunday's [17 October] voting in the northeast Estonian town of Kohtla-Jarve may be declared void because of alleged mismanagement by local election officials.

The National Election Commission in Tallinn today ruled that the local commission in Kohtla-Jarve must resolve the issue. Thus, it is still not clear whether the results of voting in Kohtla-Jarve will be valid.

The controversy began after several hundred residents from some regions of the town got no access to voting because their names were not found in the voters lists. This was despite the fact that all these people had earlier received their voters registration cards.

Officials in the National Election Commission said no formal protests for the violation of the election law had arrived from Kohtla-Jarve so far.

Election Results in Narva Favors 'Old Guard'

LD1910170793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Let us see what has happened in Narva [predominantly Russian-speaking town in northeast Estonia]. Ahto Siig will provide a survey.

[Siig] Of the 31,478 voters on the electoral roll, 20,952 turned up to vote [in local elections on 17 October], and this amounts to a 66.56 percent turnout. The Estonian Democratic Labor Party gained 6,746 votes, the Joint Trade Unions Center and the directors' council Unity

List gained 9,163, and the Estonian Society, incorporating the Russian Social Democrats in Narva, gained 3,722 votes. Of the 31 seats in the representative body [local council] an equal 12 seats went to the Democratic Laborists, that is, ex-Communists, and to the trade unionists, that is Chuykinists [Chuykin was chairman of Narva Council], with the Estonian Society gaining seven seats. [passage omitted]

So, the forecast made in yesterday's Paevakaja [evening news bulletin] that a half of the seats in the new representative body in Narva will go to the old guard Chuykinists, has more or less come true. Instead of the predominantly red-brown council as before, we have now gained a predominantly red-pink representation, thank God.

Russians on Tallinn Council Not To Form Joint Front

WS1910133393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1815 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Tallinn, October 18—The Russians elected to the Tallinn city council will not form a joint front, said Nikolai Yugantsev, chairman of the Representative Assembly of Estonia's Russian-Speaking Population who ran for the council in the list of the Estonian Russian Democratic Movement which won 17 seats.

In the council, the assembly intended to join forces with those with whom they had common interests, Yugantsev said while adding the most likely ally was the Coalition Party which won 18 seats in the council.

"The Representative Assembly favours a one-channel tax system—the town will gather taxes and give the state its part," Yugantsev told ETA.

The assembly intended to promote Estonian citizenship among Russian-speaking population saying a high number of non-citizens was not right while too many foreign citizens constituted a threat to Estonia.

Yugantsev also stressed the necessity to learn Estonian language while pointing out an internal language in some companies or offices might be a foreign language.

Coalition Party: Tallinn Election Results 'Successful'

WS1910133493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1815 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Tallinn, October 18—The oppositionist Coalition Party regards their performance at local elections in Tallinn as successful, the party's deputy chairman, Peeter Lorents, told ETA.

The party won top 18 seats in the city council while their candidate Arnold Ruutel was the most popular candidate in Tallinn. Tiit Vahi, chairman of the party, gained the third [place] result.

The Coalition Party will form a coalition with the Raeklubi which won nine seats, Lorents said. Joining forces with some Fatherland members "on some conditions" was also possible, Lorents said while not excluding cooperation with the Russian union which won 17 seats in the council.

Pensioners Win 23.2 Percent of Votes in Tartu

WS1910133693 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1815 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Tallinn, October 18—Estonian pensioners scored a surprise total of 23.2 per cent of votes in local elections in the country's second largest town Tartu winning 17 seats in the town council, preliminary election results show.

Election results in Tartu reflect Estonia's every-day reality, Harri Kartner, chairman of the Estonian Pensioners' Union told ETA.

Election union "Tartu" won 25.4 per cent and 19 seats in the council while their leader Tiit Veeber was the most successful candidate with 819 votes.

"Tartu" was interested in joint work with the pensioners, Veeber said.

The Pensioners' Union will protect the rights of all not-well-off people providing them with at least basic food and accommodation, Katner said.

Ruling Fatherland Party gathered only 12.2 per cent of the votes in Tartu which will give the seven seats in the council. The results were worse than expected, Tnis Lukas, Fatherland's candidate for the mayor's office, told ETA.

A member of the ruling coalition, the Estonian National Independence Party, won 9.1 per cent of the votes and three seats. Estonian social democrats, royalists and centrists will each have one seat in the council.

Low interest in elections with only 34.3 per cent of the electorate having turned up at polls corresponded to the weak performance of the ruling party, because the young, who are considered Fatherland's main supporters, failed to vote, Lukas said.

Party Leaders Comment on Local Council Elections

WS1910133893 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0852 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From 19 October RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, HOMMIKULEHT, p 1-3]

[Excerpt] Tuesday, October 19—The "Fatherland" was disappointed with the results [of the 17 October local council elections] in Tallinn and Tartu, faction deputy chairman Indrek Kannik admitted. But he enumerated the party's successes in Valga, Viljandi, Keila and the borough of Antsla, where "an influential position was won in the local councils." As for the results in Tallinn, these "provide reason for thought for other Riigikogu factions besides the 'Fatherland'," Kannik said.

Chairman of the Coalition Party faction Peeter Lorents claimed to value highly the combined 27 mandates won by the Coalition Party and the "Raeklubi". "The victory in Tallinn was a recognition of our principles. I believe that any other solution would have caused problems in the governing of the city in the present situation," he said. Lorents added that the Coalition Party faction in the council intends to cooperate with the Centrists and "the more reasonable part of the 'Fatherland'." But cooperation with the Russian Democratic Movement could not be excluded either, Lorents pointed out. Leader of the Coalition Party Tiit Vahi stressed that the party proceeded from the fact that political parties are not too strong in Estonia and the popular choice will have to be considered by standing reasonable and practical candidates for the posts. Vahi added that the local elections clearly showed the lack of popular support for the government policy. "We have been called bad and reactionary former directors. We wanted to check (in Tallinn) whether we should leave politics or carry on. Now we conclude that we can continue," Vahi commented.

The Centrists held a news conference yesterday where chairman Edgar Savisaar stressed a "total defeat of the 'Fatherland'." He described the Centrists' results as satisfactory and pointed out that the elections also commented on the activity of the Riigikogu. "The fact that 15 Riigikogu members failed to get elected in the local councils speaks for itself," Savisaar said. The incorrect policy of the ruling coalition is further demonstrated by the passivity among the Estonian voters, he added.

Tnis Lukas, a candidate for the "Fatherland" in Tartu, admitted the disappointing result, explaining that the passivity of the young voters, a natural electorate for the "Fatherland", contributed to it. [passage omitted]

Kohtla-Jarve Commission Accepts Local Election Results

WS2010102493 Tallinn BNS in English 1710 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 19, BNS—The local election commission in the northeast Estonian town of Kohtla-Jarve today ruled to officially confirm the results of Sunday's local elections and not to call a new voting.

The controversy began after some 300 residents of the town were refused access to voting because their names were not found in the voters lists. This was despite the fact that these people had earlier received their voters registration cards.

Officials at the National Election Commission in Tallinn decided to leave it to the local commission to decide whether to repeat the poll on the municipality's territory.

Lithuania

Gylys on Ties With Central Europe, Kaliningrad

WS2010091693 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 2 Oct 93 No 192 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys by Violeta Gaizauskaite; place and date not given—first paragraph is RESPUBLIKA introduction]

[Text] RESPUBLIKA correspondent Violeta Gaizauskaite has asked Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys to comment on the president's visit to the United States.

[Gaizauskaite] **What new aspects have emerged in Lithuanian foreign policy following the president's visit to the United States?**

[Gylys] We will be able to assess the significance of the president's visit after we analyze all the results. I think that after the president's return, we will adopt more active moves in our relations with Russia. The president has put forward the idea of a meeting among all former Soviet camp leaders. We will have to discuss to what extent this idea can be realized. A. Brazauskas mentioned this moment in his speech delivered at Vilnius University on 17 May. Now we must observe the situation in Russia and search for our place in Central Europe.

[Gaizauskaite] **Has the idea of a meeting among East and Central European leaders been discussed with these countries, and are their positions known?**

[Gylys] A similar idea has been mentioned by Polish President L. Walesa. The response was not too lively. A psychological disposition may have some influence on this: Leaders of these countries do not want anything identical to what they already had. Common problems may encourage them to meet at some later date, but there is no need to formalize such a meeting. However, our diplomatic and economic activities in these countries must be expanded.

[Gaizauskaite] **You have stated that events in Kaliningrad Oblast should run their own course. The Lithuanian President clearly told the United Nations that Lithuania's interest is to gradually demilitarize this oblast with increasing pressure from international organizations.**

[Gylys] When I say that a natural course of events is the best thing, this does not mean that people do nothing. State institutions of all countries interested in Kaliningrad's development are active. First of all, I mean the absence of pressure and force, while economic activities must be intensified—militarization must be replaced with marketing.

Seimas Approves Appointment of New Armed Forces Chief

LD1910164293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Algirdas Usas from the Seimas radio studio]

[Text] Once again after 50 years Lithuania has got an armed forces commander in chief; he is Colonel Jonas Andriskevicius. The Seimas approved of the candidature proposed by the president: 57 members of the Seimas voted for, three against, and 31 abstained. Those who abstained are members of the opposition Tevynes Santara.

In principle they did not agree with the proposal that a person brought up in the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union should be appointed to the post of commander in chief of the Armed Forces. They proposed to look for a candidate among Lithuanian emigration, a person who would be of Western type thinking, without Soviet syndrome, a person who has experience in working in a state governed by law and order.

Romualdas Ozolas, member of the Lithuanian Seimas, said that in general, the debate on the candidature of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces was held prematurely, because a resolved plan for building the state has not yet been worked out. [passage omitted]

Social Minister Refuses Comment on Resignation Rumors

WS2010083193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1346 GMT 19 Oct 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 356]

[Text] 19 October 1993—Social affairs minister Teodoras Medaiskis is going to resign, unofficial sources close to the government said.

There are speculations that the reason of possible resignation is disagreement between Medaiskis and Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius concerning the social policies being implemented.

Medaiskis neither confirmed nor denied the information to ELTA. "I am not going to comment on this at all", he added.

Sajudis Discusses Disbanding, Joining Homeland Union

WS1910155393 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 8 Oct 93 No 196 p 4

[Excerpts] Lithuanian Sajudis Executive Secretary Jurgis Razma has told RESPUBLIKA that the movement currently has between 10,000 and 12,000 registered members. However, its supporters are much more numerous. On 27 February, the fifth Sajudis session elected Seimas [parliament] Deputy Algirdas Katkus its chairman. Professor V. Landsbergis continues to hold the position of Sajudis honorary chairman, even though he also heads the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives). [passage omitted]

A Sajudis congress is planned for 20 November. On 23 October, a Sajudis session will debate whether to submit a proposal to the Sajudis congress on disbanding this organization. According to J. Razma, opinions on this subject differ. In some regions, all Sajudis activists have joined the Homeland Union, and they see no sense in duplicating their activities. Others propose to leave Sajudis as a social organization without electoral candidates. Another group believes that Sajudis should remain a social and political organization.

According to Sajudis Council Chairman A. Katkus, the situation in the organization itself will determine its future. The council has asked the Estonian Popular Front to send copies of documents prepared for its congress. In A. Katkus' opinion, the Lithuanian Sajudis has chosen another road—to slowly integrate into the Homeland Union and other parties. "The parliamentary elections in Estonia have produced different conditions than in Lithuania. Here both the leftists and the rightists must prepare for the next elections. Sajudis will also debate the best strategy for achieving this. That is why its organizational structure will depend on the actual situation," said A. Katkus.

Kaliningrad Chief Visits for Talks With Leaders

PM1810154993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich: "Kaliningrad Seeks Integration In Baltic Region"]

[Text] Vilnius—Kaliningrad is Russian territory, the territorial question is settled, but it is necessary to define the oblast's new status in view of its integration in all spheres of the life of the Baltic region—this was stated at a press conference in Vilnius by Yuriy Matochkin, chief of Kaliningrad Oblast administration, who is in Lithuania for talks with the republic leadership.

So the Kaliningrad leader has made it clear that he does not favor separatist ideas and therefore he would be unlikely to help local nationalists who dream about the annexation of so-called "lesser Lithuania" (Lithuanian territory), which, in their view, would be aided by the general destabilization of the internal political situation, the intensification of separatist trends, the tactics of brandishing the threat of German expansion, and so on. The Lithuanian leadership has no intention either of contributing in any way to these sentiments and, as Prime Minister A. Slezevicius said, it sees Kaliningrad as a good neighbor and full partner. But despite the optimistic tone of the two leaders, many pressing matters of collaboration between neighbors at all levels have not yet been resolved, and only now, it appears, do they propose to conduct the dialogue on a regular basis.

The Kaliningraders were prompted to take more vigorous action by Lithuania's decision to switch to a visa system as of 1 November, which could cause enormous problems for the oblast's inhabitants. So this very month experts on both sides will prepare, on agreement with their countries' leaders, a whole range of agreements on trade, the passage of all types of transport through Lithuania including military transport (S. Knezis, chief of staff of the Lithuanian Armed Forces, told IZVESTIYA that dozens of members of the Russian Army daily request authorization), on the establishment of control of air transport, on transport checkpoints, and others. According to Yu. Matochkin, it will be a whole range of different agreements for the purpose of finally settling all current issues from the legal viewpoint.

Clearly, right-wing radicals in Lithuania, who insist on calling Kaliningrad Karaliaucius, will do their utmost to obstruct these agreements, since all their overt and covert territorial claims might then be removed from the agenda. More moderate politicians in Lithuania appreciate that clarity in relations between neighbors is absolutely essential, just as it is essential to have closer integration by Kaliningrad in the Baltic region, since Germans have already started swiftly filling the current yawning gaps and are making very active inroads into the Kaliningrad market.

We do not know when the experts are going to complete their work and the leaders of the oblast and Lithuania will be able to sign the actual treaties. They are faced with the dismal experience of Lithuanian and Russian state delegations which have not yet been able to find a common language and are marking time, displaying utter helplessness. Unless accords are reached, one can expect the most unexpected and acute problems to arise with the 1 November introduction of the visa system, albeit one that gives Kaliningraders privileges.

German Envoy on Unification, War Compensation

WS2010094693 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 2 Oct 93 No. 192 p 9

[Interview with German Charge d'Affaires Stefan Galon by Algimantas Zukas; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Zukas] The holiday that your country is celebrating tomorrow originated only three years ago. At that time, the unification of Germany, that had been dreamed of for a long time, evoked joy alone. Three years later, talks about unexpected difficulties are becoming quite vocal....

[Galon] Yes, we did not expect such a course of events. The unification was unanticipated, and we exploited a historical chance. Today, it is causing not only economic but also international problems. The East German economy was based on completely different principles, and it is difficult for people to change. They were used to instructions about what to do and how. They were not interested in their possibilities on the market. Now the fate of millions of people depends on their ability to adapt to the new conditions. There is also a psychological problem, and we are beginning to realize how difficult it is to change one's mode of life.

[Zukas] Was this the reason for the world-famous racists' attacks in Rostock and other, primarily East German, cities? It is paradoxical that people were taught friendship for decades in this area.

[Galon] These attacks were encouraged by the same emotional and economic factors. Young people were the most active, and this is terrible. Adults were standing nearby and watching. However, it would be senseless to resolve this problem only through the police and the courts. Different examples were imposed on young people for a long time, and now they do not see any chance of finding their place in life or a job. Not only the courts and police, but also educators, artists, economists, and spiritual leaders must resolve this problem. I think that the world should judge us not by stones or bottles with Molotov cocktails. Millions of Germans do not accept racism.

[Zukas] United Germany wants to occupy a deserving place in the world. There is some talk about the necessity of changing the constitutional article that prohibits the Bundeswehr from participating in military operations outside the country. Is this necessary?

[Galon] Such an article was included in the Constitution in the late 1950's, when memories about the war induced by Germany were still alive. I am certain that this had to be done in order to prevent militarism. However, Europe has changed essentially, and we must continue the process of new thinking. A sense of responsibility for Europe and the world has already matured in our country. I would also like our neighbors to understand this.

[Zukas] Will this be discussed during President R. von Weizsaecker's visit to Lithuania?

[Galon] It is too early to speak about this visit, although it demonstrates the high level of our relations. In the summer, our foreign ministers signed a declaration on their future development, as well as a number of other agreements.

[Zukas] Since the aforementioned declaration does not mention any compensation for the damage inflicted on Lithuania during the last war, some of our politicians call this document another defeat for Lithuania.

[Galon] There is no defeat. According to my country, there are no legal grounds for demanding compensation 50 years after the war. German leaders understand that this is not the best decision, and they are now considering some feasible compensation. This problem has just been canceled for some time. The signed declaration is a step forward. We are grateful to Lithuanian politicians for not taking advantage of this issue and for delaying the signing of this declaration. Now we can resolve other problems as well. By the way, this week is a week of German culture in Russia and the Baltic states. We call on Lithuania to organize a similar week in Germany and present its cultural achievements. It is worth noting that we continue to exchange delegations, which even exceeds the possibilities of our embassy.

[Zukas] All Lithuania knows about the lines at the German Embassy. One of the diplomats has said that she wishes these queues become even longer. Do they not hamper our contacts?

[Galon] I am not going to justify these queues. However, in June, July, and August we issued 5,800, 9,400, and 10,000 visas, respectively. Such efficiency has surprised even us. I suppose that my colleague was speaking about the wish to preserve your interest in our country. Unfortunately, we ourselves cannot regulate this issue because we work with many German institutions. We can only erect an adjacent building and accommodate more people. There is also the problem of visa agencies that we cannot control. This method is illegal.

[Zukas] We can remember German citizens also complaining about the disorder on the Lithuanian-Polish border.

[Galon] The length of the German-Luxembourg border is almost the same as that between Lithuania and Poland, but nobody counts how many crossing points we have. State sovereignty does not coincide with border sovereignty. It would be very good if all European borders had no obstacles. I hope that we will have such a situation in the future. [passage omitted]